NEW MASSES

August 7, 1945 15¢ In Canada 20¢

DO GERMANS HAVE RIGHTS?

by HANS BERGER

BRITISH LABOR'S GREAT CHANCE

A Cable from London by CLAUD COCKBURN

THE NEGRO AND POSTWAR JOBS

by ERNEST THOMPSON

THE COMMUNISTS CLEAR THE DECKS

by THE EDITORS

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

The High Cost of Health, by Dr. Ernst P. Boas; Booby Trap for Labor, by Harry Sacher; The Seamen Won't Be Sunk, by Virginia Gardner; Beauty and the Beast, by Rev. William H. Melish.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

BETWEEN ourselves, it's nip and tuck to keep NEW MASSES afloat these days, what with people on vacations, meetings all hours of the day and night and the weather outswithining St. Swithin. Welcome an editor or two back and two more slip out from under your arm. This week we have a triple welcome back for Abe Magil, who may have been milking cows, Isidor Schneider who was enjoying a breeze or two around Cape Cod, and Joe Foster whom we have finally managed to lure back from California's charms, where, by some sort of irony he managed to do everything but catch up on the movie reviews he promised us. We forgave Joe before he arrived, however, as he seems to have brought the Hollywood art auction off with the usual flying colors. If we are to believe the column length clippings, it was a huge financial and social success in spite of the fantara of Red Terror Mr. Hearst tried to kick up around NEW MASSES earlier while he was trying to frighten us away from the United Nations. Joe is doubly forgiven because he also brought back something to help keep the wolf away from the door. (A bad recurrent dream we have, that wolf. It would take something besides analysis to cure it.)

JOE FOSTER reports that the interest and action around NEW MASSES third Southern California art auction was greater than ever before and that the Hearst attacks did frighten away one or two sponsors, but they also brought some fluctuating notables to declare that "nobody was going to dictate who and what we are to be interested in." About eighteen hundred people visited the exhibit during the week before the sale, a greater number than have ever before visited an art show in Southern California—that includes the record attendance of museums, art institutes, private collections and the like. Among the visitors were leading bigwigs, producers and writers, with a sprinkling of the bright light stars. The many sponsors of the auction included Ira Gershwin, Charles Boyer, Vincent Price, Alexander Knox, Artie Shaw, Sidney Buchman, Vincent Sherman, and such top artists as John Sloan, Max Weber, Alexander Brook, Raphael Soyer and others. The leading liberal paper of the community came to the support of the exhibit with a full column. In short, this annual art auction and sale is becoming a cultural fixture for Southern California.

FOR many moons, Betty Millard has been trying to wring out of the print shop which does up your magazine every week a set of type samples so that our feeble memories wouldn't lead us into demanding 12 pt. Garamond bold itals. where we wanted 10 for the special literary issue, etc., without success. Last week Charley, who takes the kinks out of linotype machines, produced a long galley with the dope complete. But since we don't print at an ordinary print shop (we shall write one day about our life and struggles at Prompt Press) the samples were something out of the routine, and since we think they reveal a thing or two about Miss Millard that might entertain our personality hungry readers, and since Miss Millard is at the moment a thousand miles safely away in Chicago, we quote a few items for your edification:

"This is 10 pt. Vogue with Vogue Bold: Resume of the Life and Times and Telephone Conversations of Betty Millard (after 8 P.M.)

"This is 8 point Garamond bold with Italic 1234567890. It would make a beautiful caption type: "Sunset," watercolor in pastels by Betty Millard.

"This is 12 pt. Vogue Extra with Italic: NEW MASSES, AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY."

The whole is headed up by a large cut known as "Millard's Folly," of a horse laugh which went down to the engravers and came up five times larger than anyone expected.

THE most touching event of last week was the arrival of the following letter from the editor of *The Democrat*, an "Independent Fortnightly Review" of Johannesburg, South Africa: It read simply, "Dear Sirs, I have the pleasure in sending you herewith bank draft for value £6, as a contribution from one democratic paper to another. Yours faithfully." Knowing a little something of the headaches that are involved in getting out a "democratic paper" we were really moved by this gesture of international good will.

V. S.

NEW MASSES
ESTABLISHED 1911

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NEW MASSES
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BRITISH LABOR'S GREAT CHANCE

By CLAUD COCKBURN

London (by cable).

THEY'RE saying it's a swing of the pendulum, but it isn't that at all. They're saying it's "a temporary popular reaction to wartime difficulties," and it isn't that at all either. They'll say like Lord Camrose's *Daily Telegraph* that people voted Labor without knowing what they were doing. They'll say like other sections of the Tory press that it was all the fault of Lord Beaverbrook and his inept conduct of the Tory campaign. Clubs, newspaper offices and political morgues now piled high with Tory candidates are full of angry, amazed and disappointed gentlemen seeking a clue to what they regard as a vast "whodunit" with a particularly tricky ending. Most of them are looking for the wrong thing in the wrong place. And they are wrong for the same reason that they are so amazed.

You begin to get on the right track as soon as you talk to the working people and professional people of every grade and wage level, for among them you find no amazement at Labor's magnificent victory, only here and there a little surprise at its extent. For these people it's the other thing that would have been amazing. Amazing it would have been if after the ten years spanning the invasion of Abyssinia to the fall of Berlin this country and this people had not at long last shaken off Tory domination and put Labor not only into office but into power. When you talk to an Englishman in the street today it is as though he and his wife were saying to you, "But didn't they know what we were thinking all this time? Didn't they know we were learning things in this war? Didn't they believe that we believed and still believe it was a people's war?"

On the morning of the day on which the election results were announced I saw a Tory gentleman stopping in front of a newspaper office from which returns were being made public. He cried out loud, "My God, Dover has gone Labor!" The man beside him said, "What did you think Dover was going to do after what it has been through. Dover was on the frontline, wasn't it?" For some reason the Tories thought the White Cliffs and all that they imply were theirs. It was not the least of their misconceptions. The true question during the election was always not whether the country—opinion in the country—had "gone left" but simply whether under our electoral system that trend would be able fully to express itself in the composition of the new House of Commons. There isn't any mystery about what has happened except in the sense that all great, simple, epoch-marking events are mysterious. Equally, it would be hard to overestimate the greatness of the change which now, by the outward and visible sign of the election results, is seen to have come over the whole British political scene in the course of first, the long bitter and temporarily lost fight against Chamberlainism; second, the disasters, blazing disillusionments, and devastating exposures of 1940; third, the trials and glories and examples of the people's war in alliance with the Soviet Union; and finally, the period just before and just after victory over Hitler when "the old guard," with Churchill now publicly reenlisted in its ranks, coolly and arrogantly proposed to resume power for the visible purpose of defrauding the peoples of Britain and the world of the fruits of victory which the peoples had won.

There is a sense wherein, domestically speaking, this election marks the end of a period of British political life which in many essentials had not basically changed since before the first World War, and certainly not since the first emergence of the Labor Party as a serious political force. This change, of course, is marked in the most obvious form by the virtual elimination of the Liberal Party.

BUT the outstanding immediate fact within this picture is that the country has given Labor power pressed down, so to speak, and running over. True, no one expects the new government to perform miracles in dealing with the immensely grave and immensely complex problems facing it. Equally, however, the size of the majority, and perhaps still more, the size of the aggregate vote offer no excuse for the timidities of any weaker brethren there may be.

It is, of course, a natural consequence of the swing towards Labor in the country, together with the great main body of vigorous numbers elected, that there should be some who on past form at least may be regarded as "doubtfuls" when it comes to the rapid and wholehearted carrying out of the popular mandate domestically and internationally. To that extent the vote was in a sense "indiscriminate." I mean by that that in the immense enthusiasm for Labor certain seats were capable of being won by candidates whose record as Labor fighters was something less than brilliant. This applies, of course, only to a minority of cases. The same "indiscriminate" swing towards Labor partially accounts for the relatively small Communist vote. There were many places in which the soldiers' vote was cast almost exclusively for Labor in constituencies where the Labor and Communist candidates were running approximately level in so far as the civilian vote was concerned. The reason was that the service men were cut off from normal campaign activities and were particularly cut off from reading of Communist candidatures in the press.

Nevertheless, as against the "weaker brethren" there has come into the House of Commons this time a strong nucleus of level headed, genuine, radical leftwingers. I am not referring to some of those who in the past Parliament set themselves up as "ultralefts." Apart from them there were in the last House, say, a half dozen members on the Labor benches who could be relied upon as the fighting vanguard of every progressive policy whether on the home or foreign front. At a rough estimate I would say that the number has certainly increased to at least twenty-five in the new House and will very likely develop and expand rapidly in the course of the great and testing struggles to come.

In this connection, a highly important feature of the

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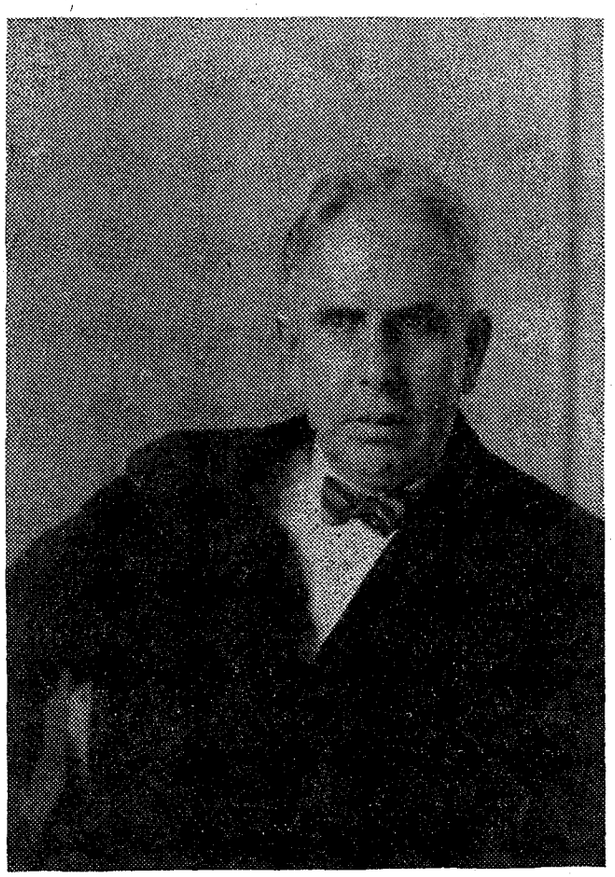
election was the widespread and quite open cooperation and unity in action between the Labor and Communist workers despite certain efforts to prevent it by some remaining reactionaries at Transport House—headquarters of the Trades Union Congress. It is striking how many newly elected members of Parliament have gone on record with public declarations of their debt to the Communist Party and the Communist press for their work during the campaign. It is no exaggeration to say that this work and the resulting unity in action has profoundly changed the whole aspect and the potentialities of local labor movements.

THE swing towards Labor not only produced a huge aggregate majority of Labor over Conservatives but broke into quite new ground. This, if you look at local voting, was hardly less striking in rural areas wherein the Conservative majority often was only reduced, than in the great cities such as Birmingham and Manchester and Liverpool where the Conservatives were defeated altogether. Indeed the rural constituencies in general offered the most convincing proof of the fact that this victory registers a great, general rise in the political consciousness and political clear-sightedness of the British people. It is one more proof that this really is a step foward into a new political era.

The nature of Tory policies before the election and of their program as they presented it during the election is a sufficient summary of what it is that the British people have decisively rejected. But the vote was not merely a rejection of those policies. It was a demand for a change and rapid strides forward both at home and abroad. The demand has been made, the powers have been given, and throughout Britain there is a vast expectant confidence that the men are there with the will to use the power as the people meant them to do when they went to the polls.

DREISER JOINS THE VANGUARD



Theodore Dreiser, one of America's greatest novelists, has joined the Communist Party. His letter to William Z. Foster, the Party's new chairman, requesting membership, was presented to the Communist national convention last weekend, which voted unanimously to admit him. Part of his letter follows:

"MORE and more it is becoming recognized in our country that the Communists are a vital and constructive part of our nation, and that a nation's unity and a nation's democracy is dangerously weakened if it excludes the Communists. Symbolic of this recognition was the action of the War Department in renouncing discrimination against Communists in granting commissions. . . .

"It seems to me that this ought to discredit completely one of the ideological weapons from the arsenal of fascism that disorients the country's political life and disgraces its intellectual life—Red-baiting. Irrational prejudice against anything that is truly or falsely labeled 'Communism' is absurd and dangerous in politics. Concessions to Red-baiting are even more demoralizing in the field of science, art and culture. If our thinkers and creators are to fulfill their responsibilities to a democratic culture, they must free themselves from the petty fears and illusions that prevent the open discussion of ideas on an adult level. The necessities of our time demand that we explore and use the whole realm of human knowledge.

"I therefore greet with particular satisfaction the information that such leading scientists as the French physicist, Joliot-Curie, and the French mathematician, Langevin, have found in the Communist movement, as did the British scientist Haldane, some years ago, not only the unselfishness and devotion characteristic of the pursuit of science, but also the integration of the scientific approach to their own field of work with the scientific approach to the problems of society.

"I am also deeply stirred to hear that such artists and writers, devoted to the cause of the people, as Pablo Picasso of Spain and Louis Aragon of France, have joined the Communist movement, which also counts among its leading cultural figures the great Danish novelist, Martin Anderson Nexo, and the Irish playwright, Sean O'Casey.

"These historic years have deepened my conviction that widespread membership in the Communist movement will greatly strengthen the American people, together with the anti-fascist forces throughout the world, in completely stamping out fascism and achieving new heights of world democracy, economic progress and free culture. Belief in the greatness and dignity of man has been the guiding principle of my life and work. The logic of my life and work leads me therefore to apply for membership in the Communist Party."

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DO GERMANS HAVE RIGHTS?

By HANS BERGER

GERMANY'S internal developments are of concern to everyone and it is only natural that everything the Germans do, everything that happens in Germany, everything that is decided about Germany, everything the armies of occupation in Germany do or don't do, is watched carefully, discussed, argued, and criticized. What happens with big German industry, with the powerful German trusts and cartels, with the Junker estates, with the captured general staff, with the makers of secret weapons, with the war criminals, with the Nazi movement, with reparations—all this will be an index to the real content of Allied policy toward German imperialism.

For the fight against Nazism and German imperialism goes on, of course, by other than military means. This state of affairs creates other problems requiring solution and their democratic solution is dependent on the watchfulness of people everywhere and their readiness to intervene with advice and criticism. After all, the armies of occupation in Germany are not only there as military organs, they are the instruments of policy-makers as well and politics can never be left solely to the military "specialists" of the armies. If the people who have no material interest in this or that German factory, industry or cartel, but have only the broad interest of transforming Germany into a peaceful nation—if they do not care what happens, one can be sure that many wrong, dangerous things will happen in Germany. The little that is already known about events in the American zone proves that certain things are being done that should be corrected as soon as possible. With this in mind, let us look for a moment at Bavaria and at the following words of the American head of the Bavarian AMG:

"Rights? You have no rights! You're conquered! You started this war and you lost. Get it through your heads: you lost. You have no rights." These words of Colonel Keegan, now governor of Bavaria, and in civilian life a Bronx politician, have been quoted again and again during the past few weeks. There are many people who admire the spirit of this tough colleague of Boss Flynn. What a guy! And what insolence on the part of Germans to demand rights only a few weeks after the crushing of Hitler Germany!

Well, I do not share Colonel Keegan's opinion. I am definitely of the opinion that the Germans have rights and that all peoples, especially progressives, should support certain rights of the Germans. *I mean the right of the Germans to change radically, to travel the road that will make them a civilized, peaceful and democratic nation.* This is not a question of pity, of sympathy for Germans, of forgiveness, of forgetting German crimes that no one, non-Germans and especially Germans, should ever forget. From the point of view of the most progressive Germans it is not only a duty to create a new peaceful Germany, but also a right. It is a right for which no German Communist, no genuine German progressive will ever stop working and fighting for. It is a right which every real German anti-fascist can even now—at a time when hatred against everything German is strong—ask of the occupation authorities, the labor movement and the peoples of the victorious nations.

Let me make this clearer with an example. Not very many active underground groups in Bavaria survived the Hitler regime. But can anyone imagine that those underground forces which did survive will now stop in their work for a democratic Germany? Can they now cease pointing out to the Bavarians the road by which Germany arrived at her present situation, or the particularly shameful role Bavaria played in the development of the Nazi movement? And who would blame these proved German anti-fascists if they tried directly or indirectly to convince Colonel Keegan and his co-workers of the absurdity of his policies which consist in giving administrative posts to the clerico-fascist bureaucrats of the Bavarian People's Party as well as to many Nazis, and at the same time preventing the legalization of the anti-fascist democratic parties, such as those of the Communists and Social Democrats. Dorothy Thompson recently sent to the New York *Post* the following report from Bavaria:

"All military governments have been ordered to oust local *Landraete* and find substitutes, but directives are to keep sub-officials unless there are specific charges against them. Even police commissioners appointed under the Nazis are kept. And how does a military governor find a substitute for a *Landrat?* He calls in fifty local notables and asks them to pick someone. Now the notables are either Nazis or collaborators, and if they do not pick Nazis they certainly pick someone who will consider their interests, which is an odd way to introduce democracy. The reason given for the suppression of all political activity is the fear that the Communists will get busy. Whoever thought that up has no conception of the political movements of the Nazis. They are a tremendous organization, trained in secret conspiratorial methods, and the Communists also know how to organize under suppression. Priests who are close to the people told me the Nazis are continually holding secret meetings. They will doubtless emerge eventually not under the name of Nazi, but under some other title and banner."

COLONEL KEEGAN'S words sound very tough. But in reality his policies help to create and to conserve a new reactionary Bavaria, a Nazi substitute in which progressive thoughts and movements must remain underground or semi-legal. Instead of encouraging and helping the proved anti-fascists to become the new leaders of the Bavarian masses by accepting their services in the remaking of Bavaria, Colonel Keegan uses his AMG to keep Bavaria a hotbed of German reaction, and of dangerous international intrigues—especially those originating in the Vatican, represented in Munich by Cardinal Faulhaber, an old enemy of democracy. There have been several cases in Bavaria in which even the peasants demanded, without success, the dismissal of the Nazi *Kreisbauernfuehrer* (district peasant leader) or the removal of an SS mayor.

Bavaria is an especially complicated case. And if I am not mistaken there will be other such cases. But the policy of the AMG as a whole is permeated with prejudice and the fear of an awakening German democratic movement, of everything that is not of a so-called "respectable" middle class character. AMG suffers from an unholy respect for so-called "specialists" and "translators," and from a complete failure to understand the potential role of Germany's labor movement and labor parties in building a democratic Germany.

In various localities the AMG has met anti-fascist groups made up of former trade unionists, Social Democrats, Communists, students and pro-

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fessors—even groups of soldiers and officers hostile to Hitler, as well as groups of the movement for a Free Germany. It is true that all these groups were small, and too weak for a centralized, strong resistance movement; but they were the kernels of resistance, they did work underground, they have proved themselves as anti-fascists, and they could become the centers of a legalized democratic activity. However, the AMG mostly ignored them, dissolved them, forbade their activities, dispersed them—as in Cologne when they organized a big meeting to greet their comrades who were released from concentration camps and to demand more active measures against the Nazis. The AMG also met thousands of political prisoners in Buchenwald and Dachau. Among all these forces the right people could be found for the administration of city and provincial governments, for the editing of a new German press, for cultural activities, for the organization of trade unions, and for the reorganization of anti-fascist democratic parties. However, the AMG did not orient itself towards these Germans who express by their past, by their activity, by their tradition and ideas the most valuable forces in Germany today.

Who profits from such a situation? Only the underground movement of the Nazis, and all the German reactionaries who are in deadly fear of the awakening of the German masses and of the day when they will have to answer for their crimes. It is by no means an accident that the American (and British) zones of occupation are considered by the active Nazis, by all German reactionaries, the easiest zones to operate in and to wait in for "better times." For in those zones no organized, legalized anti-fascist organizations and movements have been allowed to come into existence and lead the masses in weeding out the criminals.

If it were not for the policy of the AMG there is no reason why in its zone there could not exist a powerful, cooperative anti-fascist movement similar to that in the zone occupied by the Red Army. If the reorganized trade unions in Berlin under the leadership of Social Democrats, Communists, Catholics and Democrats already have 200,000 members, there could also be under similar leadership a broad trade union movement in the Ruhr-Rhine provinces and even in Bavaria, where the industrial workers have old trade union traditions. And the spirit of these reorganized trade union movements, under the leadership of people like those in Berlin, would be that expressed in the program of the Berlin trade union movement: "The new free trade unions are called upon to become the organs of the fighting unity of the working class for the purpose of the complete destruction of fascism. The trade unions are called upon to render assistance in the resurrection of the German nation and in healing the wounds inflicted on the world by the Hitlerite war."

In the American zone there could also be legal organizations of the German Communist and Social Democratic parties as well as other anti-fascist democratic groups. Representatives of these anti-fascist parties of the workers, peasants and middle class could be chosen to administer cities, towns and provinces, and they would really start to give the German masses a new political leadership. This is the way to approach the problem of the reeducation of Germany seriously. Of course, all this would have to be done at first under the strictest AMG control. But without agreeing to the legalization of the anti-fascist parties and groups, without giving the German anti-fascists the opportunity to organize a new democratic policy, no reeducation of the Germans is possible, no road will be opened to the systematic creation of a new Germany.

It may be argued that Germany is not yet ripe for such a policy, that it is an illusion to believe that the great mass of Germans would swing over to the reconstructed anti-fascist democratic parties, and that it is quite impossible to expect in a very short time the creation of internal conditions upon which the victorious nations could rely.

This argument, however, does not answer the question. Nobody will deny that the task of remaking Germany is in its very earliest stage. But such measures must be taken *in order to begin and to develop this process*. If the Germans, for example, start a new democratic press, the influence of these papers, the effectiveness of their democratic education, the number of readers would be one test of how the situation is ripening and how the reeducation of Germans is progressing. If 200,000 workers in Berlin are members of reorganized trade unions, the activity of these trade unions in reconstruction, in reeducation, in the ability to draw the broad masses of the workers into their ranks indicates the tempo of the democratic process. If local and provincial governments all over Germany are led by coalitions of the reorganized democratic parties and groups, their ability to administer, to work together and to deal with the hundreds of complicated problems would be a sign of the success or failure of the development of a new democratic leadership for Germany. There is no other way to know whether the Germans are able to break with the dismal past and to go a new way. It is no accident that in the zone occupied by the Russians eighty percent of all the leading people in the different local governments and institutions are men and women from the concentration camps, from the underground and from among proved anti-fascist emigres.

Instead of speculating about how long Germany should be occupied—whether thirty, fifty or one hundred years—it is necessary to quicken the process of the democratization of Germany by the adoption of really democratic methods. Only thus will we know what the German people are really thinking, what conclusions they draw from their catastrophe, what changes are taking place and how long it will be before the Germans can be trusted to keep their house in democratic and peaceful order.

Those, of course, who see the task of the occupation powers as one of preventing the development of real German democracy, of safeguarding trusts and cartels, of encouraging those who would use the destruction of Hitler Germany to organize a new adventure on German soil; will be strongly opposed to the introduction of a democratic policy that is merciless toward the Nazi gangsters and the big German industrialists and Junkers, but full of understanding toward proved anti-fascists.

The introduction of democratic methods is necessary in order to mobilize in the quickest possible time the largest possible number of Germans for the tasks of destruction of every vestige of fascism and imperialism, for the fulfillment of reparations, for the creation of such internal conditions that will make it impossible for future German or international adventurers to use the Germans again as instruments of barbarism and imperialist aggression.

Right →

Ten years ago Bill Gropper fashioned a cartoon for "Vanity Fair" satirically depicting the Japanese Emperor hauling a jinricksha in which reposed the Nobel Peace Prize. It created an international incident with the Japanese ambassador making immediate protest in Washington. Of course, Gropper did not apologize even though some people in official circles did. In fact he promptly drew another cartoon for "New Masses" (August 13, 1935) reiterating what he thought of Japanese imperialism. That cartoon appears on the opposite page and is as brutally true today as it was when it first appeared.

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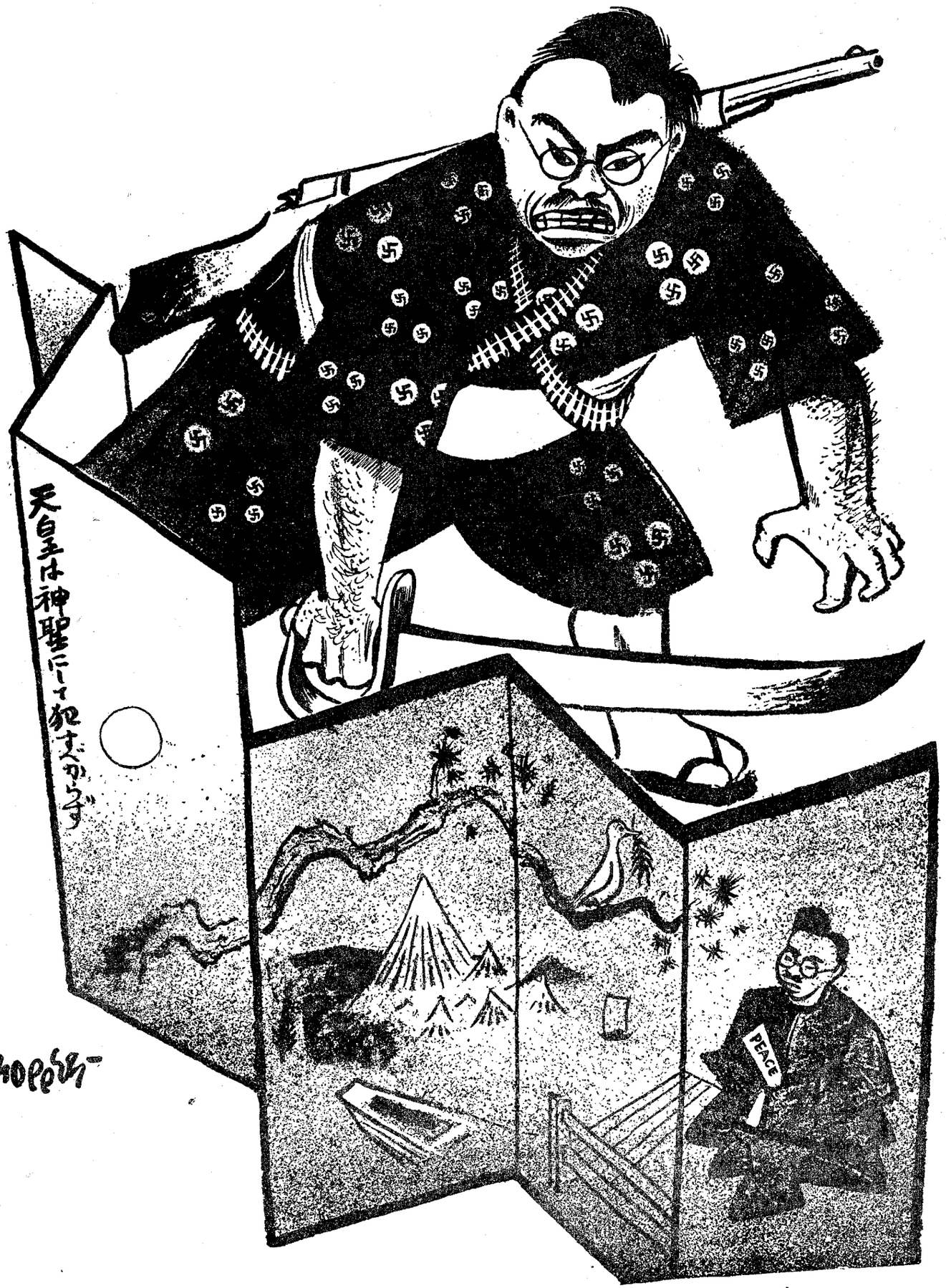

THE MIKADO BEHIND THE JAPANESE SCREEN.

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BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

THE struggle between the public interest and the big corporations crops up everywhere. I write this from Lake George where I am vacationing as I have done for many years. It is hard to think of this historic and beautiful locality as a battlefield, yet that is what it is today.

Half a million people visit Lake George each year even in wartime. Fifty thousand campers register at the public camp sites which dot the lake shore, and make use of the 176 islands which are owned by New York State. Several thousands more are owners of cottages and come annually for recreation and rest. What brings these people is the delicate beauty of this fragile body of water hemmed in by the sheer slopes of rugged forest-clad mountains and dotted with exquisite islands. Here is the loveliest lake scenery in the eastern United States, to be compared favorably with the Lake District of England or of northern Italy.

At the north end of the lake is a group of tiny islands separated by shallow channels through which the waters flow into the Ticonderoga River and, after dropping 220 feet over five falls, into Lake Champlain. This group of islands with their shallow channels forms a natural stone barrier which controls the water level of the lake, a barrier now popularly referred to as *the people's dam.*

Commercial interests have long had their eyes on the water power of the Ticonderoga River. A saw-mill was early erected beside the stream. Later a paper mill was built and a new artificial dam was constructed a mile downstream from the natural barrier. To increase the volume of water available, the natural barrier was dynamited at one point and would have been completely ruptured except for a restraining order from the courts. Today, the artificial dam, which now controls the water levels of Lake George, is owned by Systems, Inc., an affiliate of the International Paper Company, and the power produced is used for a mill at Ticonderoga manufacturing low grade paper. This power is not considerable in quantity nor is it essential to the mill's operation, which is connected to the high tension lines of a grid circuit from which the major portion of its power is purchased. The local power, however, is slightly cheaper. Thus it is that a private corporation controls the outlet of Lake George and has the physical means of determining the water-levels of the lake. There is scientific evidence that, in spite of so-called "gentlemen's agreements" entered into by the company, the manipulation of the water-level has resulted in soil-erosion threatening to destroy the lake's islands, and innumerable complaints of too high or too low water have been filed with state authorities by annoyed property-owners along the shores. What is more serious than this damage-to-date is the inescapable fact that the power to make Lake George a mill-pond lies in the hands of the International Paper Company. That is the elementary consideration which motivates the present battle to see that *the public waters of Lake George shall be regulated by a public agency and not by a private corporation concerned with its own commercial interests.* It seems outrageous that for the sake of an absurdly small power value, this glorious lake, involving so vast a public recreational interest, should be in jeopardy as a mill-pond!

In February 1942, public agitation became such that the attorney general finally brought action to determine the rights of ownership to the outlet of the lake, and a suit was filed against Systems, Inc. This, in the opinion of legal authorities, seemed hardly necessary. Since 1885 state-owned lands have been part of the New York Forest Preserve and are protected by the state constitution. Furthermore, it is an accepted legal principle that land under water in a navigable body is to be held in trust for the people. Since time immemorial the tiny Ticonderoga River, connecting Lake George and Lake Champlain, was the main artery for both Indian and white man. In the belief of many individuals, both the state constitution and the statutory law give the attorney general the authority to protect the state's interests in this instance without going to the courts at all. But the attorney general showed no interest in this obvious way of procedure; things do not operate so simply in the State of New York. Only sustained public pressure moved him to instigate legal proceedings at all. It is a further commentary on the way things actually operate, that a Commission which was appointed by the state legislature to investigate the water-levels of Lake George, after protracted and costly hearings, not only did not mention the basic issue of rights to the outlet but actually recommended that the natural barrier be destroyed and the company's artificial dam be enlarged! The voice was the voice of Jacob but the hands were the hands of Esau.

It became obvious that only public pressure and costly litigation could compel action. A group of property-owners around the lake banded together under the leadership of the distinguished scientist, Dr. Irving Langmuir, known to NM readers for his recent guest-flight to the Soviet Union to attend the Centennial Scientific Congress. They asked the attorney general to press the suit and to establish definitely the state's basic rights so that the mill-owner might be ejected as a squatter and trespasser on public property. It is the studied belief of this group that the natural barrier can then be very cheaply restored by the state and equipped with flash-screens for the control of the water-level much more effectively than by the artificial company dam. There is no objection to the paper company receiving the use of water *after* the public interest in the lake has been respected. The work of this group has now borne fruit. The attorney general's suit against Systems, Inc., has finally been tried before Judge Ryan sitting at Elizabethtown. The trial lasted three weeks, involved many witnesses and produced nearly a thousand pages of recorded testimony. It was a field-day for the legal profession. It is probable that Judge Ryan's decision will not settle the case. His verdict, which may not be rendered until after the fall elections, in all likelihood will be appealed by either side to the Appellate Division on up to the Court of Last Resort. It is neither easy nor cheap to assert the public interest in the face of such complicated legal procedures and political ramifications. But until this case is so decided, a people's playground and a national jewel will continue to stand in jeopardy as the pawn of a big corporation.

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THE NEGRO AND POSTWAR JOBS

By ERNEST THOMPSON

Mr. Thompson is acting president of Hudson County Industrial Union Council-CIO, N. J., International Field Organizer, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and a member of Executive Board District 4, UERMWA.

IT IS unfortunate that V-E Day has come and still no adequate answer has been found to the postwar job problem of thousands of Negro workers. Most of these workers have become proud union members who have gone down the line for the unions' program. It is therefore fitting that the Negro workers should give expression to their fears and ask their union what will happen to us? Will we continue to be the last hired and the first fired? Will our communities bear an unequal share of the lay-offs now taking place? Will we again be the whipping boy of the wage suppressing campaign?

These are fair questions that any union member has a right to ask his union and expect a fair answer to. This has not been the case, however, and the greatest hush-hush campaign has gone on around this question that I have ever witnessed in the CIO. The strength of the CIO has always been its great democracy, its willingness to meet every issue squarely, always seeking to find a just solution. Any postwar program that does not take into consideration the particular problems of the Negro workers is doomed for difficulty, if not defeat.

The rapid growth of the CIO has been largely due to the fact that it was founded upon the fundamental principle of organizing and fighting for the unorganized, regardless of skill, sex, religion, creed, color or political belief. Because of this, the CIO was able and prepared to assume a role of national leadership in shaping the unity behind our nation's war effort. This policy won for labor many allies, one of the staunchest being the 13,000,000 Negroes who were won over to this camp because of labor's effective fight against discrimination and in winning jobs for Negroes.

Without this alliance, there would have been a reservoir of unemployed and unorganized and extremely low paid Negro workers whom reactionary employers would have exploited to lower the wage standards of all workers and to divide the forces of the people for progress. It is safe to say that without this strong alliance, the Roosevelt administration would have been defeated and labor would have been less able to protect its wage standards and many of the clauses written into its contracts.

A recent survey by the US Department of Labor, entitled "War and Postwar Trends in the Employment of Negroes," concludes as follows: "With reference to the postwar job prospects of the Negro workers, on the basis of a comparison of 1940-44 figures, it may be noted that: (1) The Negro has made his greatest employment gains in those occupations (especially semi-skilled factory jobs) which will suffer the severest cut-backs during the postwar period. (2) Further, he has made his biggest advances in those industries (such as metals) which will experience the greatest postwar declines. Therefore, under seniority rules, he is more likely to be laid off than the average workers in these occupations. Finally, it also should be noted that in those occupations and industries in which the Negro has made his greatest employment advances, he was generally among the last hired."

Larkin

THIS places a grave and immediate responsibility upon us and the question is, "What are we going to do about it?" There is no question but that most union members wholeheartedly support the position adopted at the National CIO Convention that "*the gains that have been achieved must not be lost in the postwar and we must prevent anti-union employers from taking any steps which are designed to return to previous conditions of discrimination and thereby reduce the gains that all workers have won.*"

Cognizant of the fact that this problem must be met and solved, the thing for us, then, is to develop a program which will avoid such a situation, when jobs already won for Negroes will be lost in the reconversion period. If we fail to take concrete steps to meet this developing situation the result will be, whether we like it or not, a reintroduction of discrimination in our shops. It is not enough to say that the solution lies in full employment. No one will dispute that, but one should not be blind to the fact that we will have many cut-backs and lay-offs that may last two years.

It will be precisely during this period that the fight for 60,000,000 jobs will have to be won. It will be no easy fight and labor will need more allies than ever before to be certain of victory. Our unity in this fight will have to be strong, for the enemies of progress will be quick to exploit any doubts that may arise among Negroes or others as to whether labor is or is not 100 percent behind their right to jobs in all plants.

The following important points should be included in any program that is sincerely designed to solve this most serious problem.

1. (a) National and state FEPC committees. (b) All unions should sign agreements with FEPC to act for them and to work with them (as the United Automobile Workers-CIO did).

2. Upgrading of Negroes should be pushed, and for this purpose special training courses should be established in cooperation with war training agencies and labor-management committees.

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3. In shops where Negroes are not at present employed, a campaign to have them hired should be initiated without delay.

4. All contracts should have provisions on: no discrimination; promotions and upgrading; rehiring.

It should be borne in mind that seniority has been a vital issue for unions because it has served to restrain employers from acts of discrimination against union members and to insure the greatest possible job security for available jobs for the union on behalf of its members. Where the situation is such that a disproportionate percentage of Negro workers will be laid off, we should urge the local officers to work out in consultation with the membership concrete proposals with a view towards the retention of Negroes in all plants and departments in order to guarantee them a permanent place in our industry, even if this should require some adjustment in the application of seniority rules. Our objective is to maintain the gains won to date so that there will be no wiping out of jobs of Negro workers, but instead a continuation of at least the present levels of employment.

I propose that where it is necessary to make changes, a percentage of Negro workers be given the necessary amount of seniority to retain them in the shop. Example: Jane Jones, a Negro, has two years' seniority but she needs four to stay in the shop. To keep some Negroes in the shop, let two years be added to her standing as regards layoffs only (same as veterans who never worked in a particular shop). This should be done for two main reasons: (1) to prevent a complete separation in a given shop, and (2) to correct an inequality due to discrimination.

There are those who argue against any change in present seniority provision agreements. The air must be cleared on this argument if we are to have any real progress in solving this problem. Among those who argue against any change in seniority are George L. P. Weaver, writing in the June 5 issue of the NEW MASSES, R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, and William Green, president of the AFL. These gentlemen say they are against any seniority changes as a matter of policy and that the CIO and AFL are against any changes.

Such a policy can no longer hold, for both organizations have agreed to make changes in the case of veterans of two categories: those who never worked in a given shop, and disabled veterans. I have seen several contracts where these changes have already taken place. Now that the record shows they are not against changes, the question necessarily resolves itself to their being against changes with respect to Negro workers.

Herbert Kruckman

If in the case of veterans the changes were made to correct an admitted inequality, why is it wrong to correct the inequality imposed upon Negro workers under existing circumstances? The answer seems to be that this looks to them like dynamite and they are afraid.

I can only say to them that the dynamite that awaits their failure to act has a much stronger charge in it.

Mr. Weaver's arguments do not contribute much to the solution of this most urgent problem. He attempts to dismiss those who believe it will be necessary to make some seniority changes by charging that "these people are impractical and ignorant of the seniority clause function." Mr. Weaver ignores the fact that seniority is not an end in itself but a means to an end: job security. That there are as many different seniority clauses as there are contracts. These clauses are different because they were designed to meet different conditions. In speaking of the veterans' problems, Philip Murray said, "If our seniority provisions do not serve our needs, we will change them." And we did.

Mr. Weaver says only a noisy few outside the labor movement favor any change. I recall that the veterans' organizations and selective service argued long and loud for changes, then came back for more changes several months later—and got them. They were certainly noisy, but not few. The question then arises: has Mr. Weaver become the apostle of the *status quo*, or is he really trying to help solve this problem? Certainly he is doing a disservice to the CIO by such unfair handling of this matter. The statement that white workers bear no blame for the discriminatory practices in industry are far from true. Industry's hiring practices are but a part of the undemocratic practices for which every American is responsible.

THE main emphasis in this whole problem should be on maintaining unity while solving it. In doing so, white workers will have to ask themselves these questions: Will our union be stronger if we permit Negro workers to bear an unfair share of lay-offs that are already upon us? Will we be able to maintain their wage standards and protect seniority and other clauses in their contracts? Can we expect Negroes to continue to aid our many-front fight, as they have until now, if these questions are not met fairly and squarely?

If those who oppose making seniority changes will stop hamstringing discussion and permit the membership to discuss the whole question objectively, I am sure much good will result. It is my feeling, based on twenty years in the shop among white workers, that they will treat problems of Negro workers fairly, given the opportunity. If this is provided, I think many benefits will result, regardless of how the final vote goes. It is about time labor leaders stopped pussyfooting and stalling debate. It's about time the workers were given their say, under fair conditions. Our national unity might easily turn upon our willingness to meet the issue.

Twice before in American history the American workers permitted the Negro to be split from them and kicked around: once after the Civil War, and again after the first World War. Did the American workers learn anything from history? They paid a terrific price for failure last time. They paid in terms of suppressed wages, weak unions, plenty of anti-labor legislation and no social progress. Perhaps it would be better to make the necessary sacrifices now in their own interest. At least they should know that the price will be doubled and interest compounded.

Let's hope the ugly words, "If you don't work for these wages, we will hire Negroes," are gone forever—replaced by an unbreakable unity of Negro and white, based upon the equality of sacrifice we used to know in the old days when many of us went home several days a week so that the other guy's kids could eat.

(Note: The opinions expressed here are, for the most part, my own and not those of the organizations I represent.)

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BOOBY TRAP FOR LABOR

By HARRY SACHER

FOR a century and a quarter, that is to say from 1806, when the first labor injunction known to American history was issued, to 1935, when the Wagner labor relations law was enacted, labor had to fight unremittingly for the legal recognition and enforcement of those rights which distinguish a democratic society from a fascist society—the rights of workers to organize unions of their own choosing; to bargain collectively; to strike, if need be; and to resort to other concerted action for the betterment of their conditions. For one brief decade labor has enjoyed this legal protection. And already the wolves are at its throat—wolves who have decked themselves out in the finest of sheep's clothing.

On June 20, Senators Hatch, Burton and Ball introduced a "Federal Industrial Relations" bill in the US Senate which is as nefarious as anything the labor movement has had to contend with in the last fifty years. But it is so artfully drawn, and its sponsors have already invoked such demagogy in its support, that labor and its friends will be put to the severest test in arousing the American people to its wickedness. The bill, if enacted into law, would impose involuntary servitude on American workers and all but destroy the labor movement. Yet in its statement of purposes it is so beguiling that many may fail to appreciate that its provisions would only lead to the enslavement of all.

To the millions of American workers who are haunted by the fear of postwar unemployment, the bill promises "to promote continuity and regularity of employment and to avoid interruptions to employment arising from the inability of employers and employes to maintain satisfactory labor relations or from resulting strikes, lock-outs, shut-downs, or similar interruptions or cessations of the production or distribution of goods and services necessary to the health, safety and welfare of the people of the United States."

To seduce a peace-loving people, Senator Burton, in an article written for the Scripps-Howard newspapers a few days after the bill was introduced, described it as "the Labor Peace Bill" which "takes a step toward industrial stability that is important to our domestic peace and prosperity."

And by way of a special appeal to every segment of our population to support the bill, Senator Burton said in the same article: "It is a step toward full, fair and lasting employment. It will help the worker to improve his standards of living, the value of his product and his purchasing power. It will help to attract investments into development of new materials, new products and new enterprises. It will strengthen America's system of private enterprise in the interest of employer, employe and the public."

An analysis of the bill demonstrates, however, that these promises and claims are an intriguing facade for a measure permeated with fascist concepts of "labor" legislation.

The right to strike and compulsory arbitration: That the bill would abolish for *some* workers the right to strike and compel them to work for such wages and under such conditions as might be fixed by the fiat of governmentally-appointed arbitration boards, is admitted by its sponsors. What they have not disclosed is that the net of compulsory arbitration that they have woven is so large that it may catch the overwhelming majority of American workers and deprive them of the liberty to withhold their labor as a means of commanding better wages, hours and working conditions. In a speech which he delivered on the floor of the Senate on the same day that the bill was introduced, Senator Ball created the impression that the compulsory arbitration provisions of the bill would affect an insignificant number of workers. He said: "The bill would protect the public against interruption of vital services, such as electricity or gas, or milk deliveries, by requiring that disputes involving such industries be settled by compulsory arbitration. This may sound drastic, but actually it only recognizes the realities of actual practice today."

IT IS necessary to read only the provisions of Section 11 (a) of the bill to discover that the honorable Senator has something more than electricity, gas and milk up his sleeve. For that section authorizes the Federal Labor Relations Board (consisting of five members to be appointed by the President) to prohibit strikes and order compulsory arbitration not only when disputes affect the supply of electricity, gas or milk, as well as coal and oil, but whenever the board finds "any serious or protracted interruption in *any other supply or service* on the continuity of which the health, safety, or welfare of a community depends."

In a highly industrialized society such as ours it is well-nigh impossible to conceive of a commodity or service, produced for distribution or distributed in interstate commerce, that is not one "on the continuity of which the health, safety, or welfare of a community depends." Given a board that is hostile to labor, there won't be a basic industry in the United States, whether it be steel, auto, aircraft, shipbuilding, electrical appliances and radios, labor, newspaper publishing, or a dozen others, that will escape the net of compulsory arbitration.

Mussolini was far more forthright in his abolition of the right to strike when he declared in Article 18 of the Italian Law of Syndicates of 1926: "Employes and laborers who in groups of three or more cease to work by agreement, or who work in such a manner as to disturb its continuity or regularity, in order to compel the employers to change the existing contracts, are punishable by a fine of from 100 to 1,000 lire."

Labor's right to strike must be preserved not only, as Wendell Willkie said in *An American Program*, because its "inherent right to strike, which it has voluntarily abandoned during the war, is the basis of all its rights and must not be outlawed." It must be preserved if the liberties of all the people are to be safeguarded. The right to strike is nothing but a shorthand expression for the right of free men to determine for themselves on what terms they will labor. Destroy that right and you will have taken a long step on the road toward fascism, as the experience of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy has proved so conclusively.

To be sure, the exercise by workers of their right to strike sometimes inconveniences, and on occasion imposes hardship on some of the people. But it is the employers, rather than the workers, who are usually to blame for the conditions that lead to strikes. By and large inconveniences and hardship are a small price to pay for the preservation of our democratic institu-

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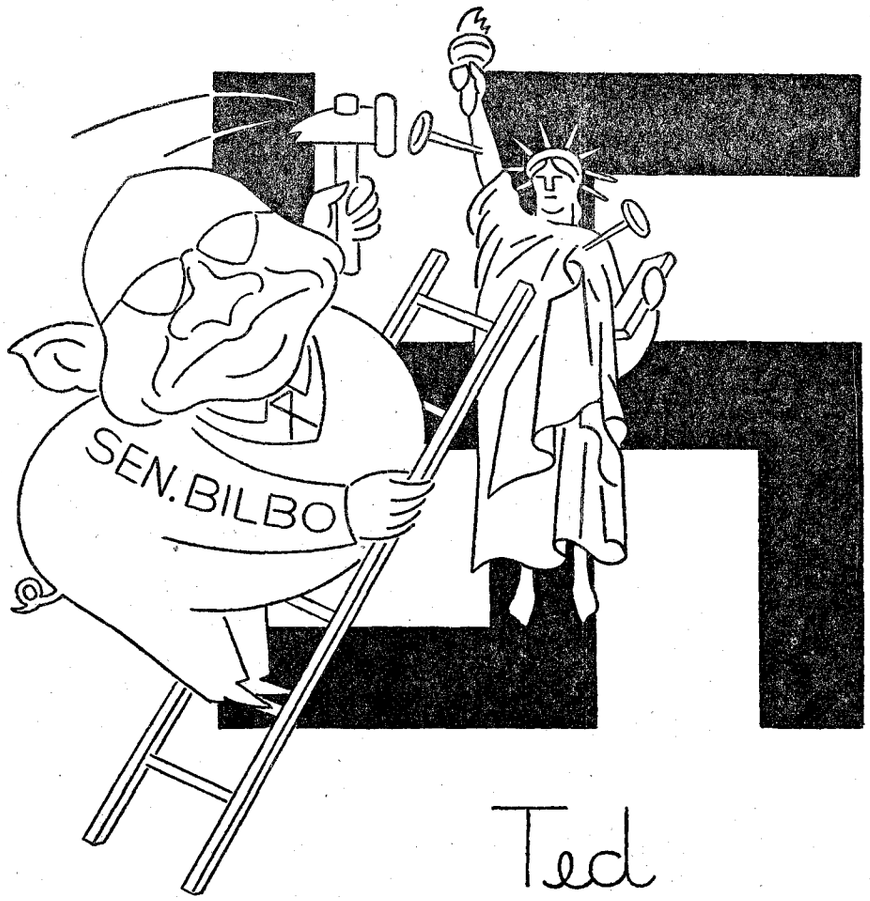

tions and for the improvement of living standards. The Hearst-McCormick-Patterson axis performed yeoman's service for the enemies of the United States; and the overwhelming majority of American newspapers have long served our people badly. But no one, in or out of Congress, has been heard to advocate the abolition of freedom of the press. The undiminished freedom of American workers is no less essential to the fabric of our democratic society.

Big Business versus Little Business: Big business, both industrial and agricultural, gets the breaks under the bill, for it excludes from its provisions industrial establishments having less than twenty employes, as well as all agricultural labor employed by farmers or cooperative associations of farmers. For the workers affected, these exclusions mean that many industrial workers, who have heretofore enjoyed rights under the Wagner act, will lose those rights; while agricultural workers, who are as yet largely unorganized, will be left to the ruthless exploitation of their employers. To employers these exclusions will have another meaning, i.e., only the bigger boys will enjoy the blessings of compulsory arbitration. What's sauce for the goose may be sauce for the gander, but arbitration for the big boys may only be a knock-down-and-drag-out-fight for the little ones.

The Emasculation of the Wagner Act: In the amendments which the authors of the bill have proposed for the Wagner act, they have been nothing short of sadistic. For they have disfigured it beyond recognition. Indeed, it is not an overstatement to say that if the labor movement submitted to the adoption of these amendments, it could not hope to survive. Under the pretense of treating employers and workers with equality, these amendments list a series of unfair labor practices which both employers and unions are prohibited from committing. Among the prohibited practices is that of "inducing or coercing employees to join or not to join any labor organization, or encouraging or discouraging membership therein, by discrimination in favor of non-members or in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment." Given a hostile board, almost every organizational activity by a labor union could be prohibited under this provision.

The achievement of any form of union security would be made most difficult, if not altogether impossible, in almost every instance. For the bill provides that an agreement requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment is unlawful unless "the labor organization shall be the freely chosen representative of, and includes in its membership, at least seventy-five percent of the employes covered or proposed to be covered by such an agreement and is ratified by sixty percent of all such employes so covered as evidenced by a vote cast by secret ballot." Under the Wagner act, an agreement requiring union membership as a condition of employment was regarded as lawful if made with a union which had been designated collective bargaining representative by a majority of the workers in an appropriate bargaining unit. What is the occasion at this late date for the overthrow of the distinctly American principle of majority rule? Nothing but the determination of the sponsors of this vicious bill to destroy the labor movement and make impossible its contribution to the maintenance of a democratic America.

To what lengths the bill goes in its efforts to destroy the effectiveness of labor unions is indicated by the provisions of Section 6 (e) which declare that notwithstanding the designation of a labor union as the exclusive representative of all the employes in a given bargaining unit, "any individual employee or group of employes shall have the right, individually or as a group, to adjust with management any grievance independently without the interference or presence of any other person."

FINALLY, unlike the Wagner act, the new bill would permit endless appeals to the courts for the review of certifications by the Federal Industrial Relations Board of collective bargaining representatives. This provision can only be explained on the score that the authors of the bill, nothwithstanding their pious professions, are determined to give labor a rooking.

Injunctions and damages all over again: Although we have pointed to many ignominies in the bill, at least one still remains for dishonorable mention. It is to be found in Section 12, which pushes labor back to where it was more than 100 years ago. For it provides dire punishments for labor's exercise of million jobs demands governmental works and projects. Involved also in this question and involved at its core, is the question of the Negro worker. The

(*Continued on page* 19)

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THE HIGH COST OF HEALTH

By DR. ERNST P. BOAS

The following are excerpts from a paper delivered before the National Health and Welfare panel of the Conference of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in the Postwar World held at the Waldorf Astoria in New York, June 23, under the auspices of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Dr. Boas is chairman of the Physicians Forum.

As PRACTITIONERS we know through first hand experience that there are many things wrong in the medical scene, and we have banded together to see what we can do about it. We know that many people are not receiving proper medical care; we know that, in many instances in spite of the utmost devotion and good will, we cannot do a good job in caring for our own patients; we know that all too often we cannot find opportunities to continue our medical education, and our professional growth, because we lack the contacts and stimulus that come from the associations with other physicians on a hospital staff; we know that in normal times many of us find it hard to make a living.

The chief reasons for this state of affairs are economic. Medical care is a commodity that must be bought. Therefore, the distribution and availability of medical care depends on the incomes of the people in the community. It is natural that doctors and hospitals should be plentiful in large cities, and in wealthy industrial centers, for here there is money to pay for them. It is inevitable that in poorer communities, in the South, and in farming areas, and in small towns the available medical resources are scanty or lacking. But few realize the tremendous discrepancies that have developed. Sixty-five percent of the money spent for medical care is spent by urban families, eighteen percent by rural non-farm families, and seventeen percent by farm families. Repeated studies have shown that expenditures for medical care are consistently correlated with income. The lowest income group spends least, and the amount spent steadily increases as income increases. Twenty-one percent of American families had aggregate money incomes of less than $1,000 during the year 1942. These families spent on the average $42 or 6.8 percent of their income for medical care that year. Families in the $1,000 to $2,000 income class spent an average of $68, those in the $2,000 to $3,000 an average of $96 for medical care. Families with incomes from $3,000 to $5,000 spent an average of $143 for medical care, and this represented only 3.7 percent of their annual income. So we find the higher income group spending over three times as much for medical care as do those with incomes of less than $1,000. Yet illness is nearly three times as frequent among those in the lowest income groups.

Medicine in the United States is unsurpassed, at its best. The past decades have been years of tremendous medical discovery and progress, and have resulted in a sharp reduction in disease, and in a great prolongation of the average life span. But knowledge how to prevent and cure disease has far outstripped the actual performance. The techniques of medical care have become more and more complex and specialized. Medicine as it is practiced by organized medical staffs of our universities and large voluntary hospitals offers the best there is of medical care. No longer is the solitary medical practitioner able to give adequate service to his patients. The constant development of new laboratory techniques, the increasing tempo of specialization, with the complex and difficult technical procedures which this involves, have brought it about that frequently many doctors must cooperate to reach a diagnosis and carry out treatment for a single patient.

We are confronted with the basic fact that a large proportion of our population have not the money to buy decent medical care. Good medical care has become very expensive, largely because of the scientific advances that have been made. Even when provided for by a prepayment insurance system, with elimination of the fee for service system it costs from $25 to $30 a person. For a family of four this amounts to $120 a year. For low-income families, for those with incomes below $2,000, this is far too expensive. The other necessities of life at these income levels are too demanding; prepayment for illness is put off in the hope that illness will not strike.

Many have cherished the hope that voluntary sickness insurance might fill the need. Sickness insurance is set up to spread the cost of illness, to meet the extraordinary costs of major illnesses out of a common fund to which all contribute. Experience in this country and in other countries has shown that voluntary sickness insurance plans that give complete coverage are impractical—they cannot be sold, and they cannot be administered, especially when the doctor is paid a separate fee for every service rendered under the plan. Yet this arrangement is insisted on by organized medicine. They can exist only under special favored circumstances, among employes of one large industry, and as a rule with a subsidy from the employer. They cover the worker but not his family. They succeed in times of plenty, but with curtailment of employment, at a time when they need it most, many workers lose their insurance. Actually the protection offered by voluntary sickness insurance in this country is minute in comparison to the need. In this the United States reflects the experience of other countries more advanced in the organization for the distribution of medical care—voluntary plans fall far short of meeting the needs of the country.

Expenditures by government for public health activities for child and maternal health, and for veterans run into sizable figures. The prevention of disease today involves much more than the old line activities of the public health officer — sanitation and vaccination. Today the chronic, so-called degenerative diseases are the great hazard to life and health. Their control and prevention depend on making available to all complete facilities for early diagnosis and treatment, not when the disease has run its course and is in its last stages, but at the time of its earliest manifestations, when it still may be checked.

Today we can no longer say, "This is preventive medicine, a proper function of government; and this on the other hand is curative medicine, the function of the practitioner of medicine whose services must be bought in the open market." These two aspects of sickness control have become merged; preventive medicine begins with measures of personal hygiene and health examinations instituted by the medical practitioner. So it is a logical and nat-

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The Barber of Madrid.

ural step to turn to government for funds to extend adequate medical care to all citizens of this country.

The federal government must do the job.

The principle of social security payments has received general approval, and it seems just and psychologically sound for the worker to contribute the costs of his own medical care. He will then feel that he has paid for the medical services that he receives, he will demand that these services be adequate, and every stigma of charity that in the past has been associated with medical services provided by government will be eliminated. But tax funds will have to be provided in addition to the social security payments; medical care of the indigent, who are not covered by virtue of employment should be included in a national health program. Furthermore, we must make certain that this medical care that we shall make so freely available will be of the best. We must provide funds for research, and for medical and other professional education, for without the leaven of teaching and scientific investigation any National Health Plan will not bring the highest type of medical care to the people.

WE DOCTORS of the Physicians' Forum believe that the patient, that is, the recipient of medical care, working through his government or through consumer organizations has both a right and a duty to be heard. It is he who pays the bills, and who is entitled to determine what kind of medical care he wants.

The layman is quite competent to decide whether or not he wishes to correct the gross inequalities in the distribution of medical care that exist today. We believe it important for laymen and doctors to work together to discover the best means to achieve the widest distribution of good medical care.

Senate Bill 1050, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill now before the Congress, provides for a national health program. The proponents of the measure have sought the best available advice, and have accepted suggestions for changes from physicians and other professional groups as well as from many lay organizations. It is a bill which will remove the economic barrier that prevents so many of our people from receiving adequate medical care.

It is not so generally recognized that the average doctor, too, will profit by its passage. The physician today is a split personality. He is a combination of a professional man and a small businessman. These dual activities often conflict with one another, to the doctor's distress and the patient's disadvantage. All too often the physician is prevented from giving his patient the benefit of the full resources of medicine because the patient cannot afford the expense of the procedures involved. The doctor is unable to practice medicine in the way he wishes to, and in the way it should be practiced. Today, all doctors are very busy and very prosperous. They forget that a short ten years ago 60,000 doctors who are now in the armed forces were competing with them for patients, and that these patients had no money. In 1936 the median net income of physicians was $3,234, in 1938, $3,027, and in 1940, $3,245. Compulsory health insurance will stabilize the income of doctors over the years, and in fact will increase the incomes of the majority. It has been reliably estimated that the average income both of practitioner and specialist will increase rather than suffer under the provisions of the bill. Today the doctor wastes many of his early years building up a practice, and after he has reached age sixty he finds his practice and his income rapidly shrinking. By providing a stabilizing economic base, compulsory health insurance will do much to eliminate this waste of skilled manpower. And it will give security to the doctor in youth and in old age just as it will to his patients.

The time has come to marshal the complete resources of modern medicine, and place them at the service of all of our people. It is for such a national health program that all of us, doctors and laymen must work together. Our efforts are needed to give actuality to the plans that have been developed by competent experts.

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THE SEAMEN WON'T BE SUNK

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE scene is the dusty auditorium of the old National Museum, the only room the War Labor Board could find which was big enough to hold the rank-and-file delegates from the National Maritime Union and all the members of the press who wanted to hear the NMU wage case. One seaman after another, his chest ablaze with ribbons of the various invasion fronts, tells the board how his family is struggling to make ends meet on his socalled high pay. Tex Wismer, with ribbons of twelve invasions, a bos'un who started shipping out nineteen years ago, tells how he finally got married early in the war. "So I start pushin' baby buggies, like all my friends. Now do you think I'm going to give up my home and my family?"

Elsewhere the ship operators' statisticians utter discreet words about subsistence pay. One insists that coffee cups and pots and pans and toilet paper—and even the pay of the stewards who cook the crew's mess—be added in. That, he said, would almost double the forty-two cents an hour skilled workers will be getting under the bonus cut ordered by the War Shipping Administration. Another statistician says, after the union's testimony, that if wages are to be computed on the basis of what it costs to live, "that is a novel approach to me." If he himself couldn't make a living as a statistician, said this man with two or three degrees, he would simply go into some other profession.

Or take the scene at the War Shipping Administration some three months ago. Certain gentlemen are busy explaining in refined terms the meaning of some charts. They are Navy statisticians, and the charts "explain" why the WSA did what it did to sabotage the war effort. By charts a man with a flair for regarding war heroes as digits can figure out "war risk" in precise terms.

The statisticians are saying, in effect, how easy it is for war heroes of today to become hoboes tomorrow. They are telling the union delegates who haunt the place, the men who took out ships when they were unarmed boats with about as much safety as a sieve in a bathtub, that we still have a war on our hands and ships to man, but that, unfortunately for them, there aren't quite so many sinkings as formerly.

The area bonus and attack bonus are definite war risk payments. If a ship is attacked in a certain area, a seaman gets $125—but only if it is a direct attack or if at least one member of the crew gets killed. The steaming (when you're under way) bonus is paid on an entirely different basis. The fact that if you're a mess boy or wiper and get from 82.5 cents to 87.5 cents an hour, you get a 100 percent bonus, if you're in dangerous waters—and if you're a captain making $400 or $500 on the same ship, you also get double, shows the direct relationship to wages.

The entire theory behind the war risk bonus, promoted by the operators as a sneak attack to prevent wage rises, was that they could be removed conveniently. Nevertheless, they *are* an accepted part of seamen's pay. Before the war, when the United States had 10,000,000 instead of 50,000,000 tons of shipping (ships), an AB (able-bodied seaman) got $82.50 for a 240-hour month. For that, he had to know among other things how to reeve a block (thread it), splice a cable, pass a lifeboat test and do the same work that a rigger in a shipyard gets $1.20 an hour for doing. But with the increasing manpower shortage after Pearl Harbor, the WSA found it had to install the "high" war bonus in addition to making a national appeal to recruit and train men, to entice back the old-timers who had left the sea and acquired homes and families. With the bonus, they were getting eight-five cents an hour. The second bonus cut has gone into effect—about thirty-five percent cut in Atlantic waters. With V-J Day will come the full cut, and the pay with be forty-two cents for skilled men.

As Art Phillips, of the NMU, secretary of the CIO Maritime Committee, describes it, "WLB is going to diddle around with our case. They will give fifty-five cents (the minimum wage standard), but they'll hack away here and there, they'll deduct one dollar a day or so for subsistence. The government will wind up cutting the average wartime wage of $200 a month by $100—then they'll give us a twenty dollar raise."

The Chicago *Sun* recently splashed before its readers a picture of a GI Joe on a picket line. The NMU seamen he was marching with are not on strike. They are just taking their wage case to the people. A similar picket line parades before the WSA offices here. The men are heroes of numerous invasions, they include torpedo victims and veterans of the run to Murmansk and to India, to the Red Sea and to Africa. It must make the statisticians with the meticulous phrases writhe to count up all the war risk involved in those ribbons.

At their recent convention these seamen voted to continue to refuse to strike. As their president, Joe Curran, said, half the working class is in the foxholes, and we aren't going to desert them.

WHEN they appeared before the WLB, representatives of every union on the sea—speaking for 180,000 men — appeared with them officially. There are the Seamen's International Union - AFL; the Seamen's Union of the Pacific-AFL; the Marine Cooks and Stewards-CIO; the American Communications Association-CIO; Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders, Independent; Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association-CIO, and the NMU. When Duke DuShane of the SIU, historic rival of the NMU, arose, he said the SIU supported the statements made by the other unions 100 percent, and that included the NMU, which had told the board through its officials that it refused to go on strike.

It should be remembered by the citizens who are going to be asked to write the President and the WLB and the WSA, that the seamen are not included in state unemployment compensation provisions, that there is no seamen's "GI bill," no provision made whereby a man who gets a leg blown off can get an artificial limb, or a man who suffers a breakdown after repeated torpedoings gets treatment. The wife of one seaman who had such a breakdown had to go to work as a janitor and care for her husband in off-work hours.

Despite the public pronouncements of officials, the NMU is finding that when they go to spokesmen of the administration such as Admiral Land, chairman William H. Davis of the Stabilization Board, Vinson (as War Mobilizer) and chairman Otis Bland of the House Marine and Fisheries Committee, these officials give them a line,

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saying we know the WLB has adopted a fifty-five cent minimum wage, and that they're now proposing to return you to a substandard wage, but our merchant marine operators will have to compete against Britain's low wages. Thus they are trying to justify the government's course in doing everything to guarantee ship operators' profits and at the same time doing their job in holding down wages.

Apparently it is very hard for government officials to understand how these organized seamen who hate fascism so much that they patriotically refuse to go on strike, are nevertheless angry. It apparently is very hard for them to understand how a union with such a militant history, a long history of successful struggle against the phonies in their own ranks and the phonies in the rival AFL union and the shipowners and the unspeakable working conditions they imposed, can be angry and yet find another means of successful struggle than the strike.

But as Art Phillips explained, "Since 1934 we have always, to a greater or lesser degree, been against strikes. The strike weapon is the last resort, and then you only use it if after careful analysis you think you can win. We have learned a major lesson, that you never strike when the boss wants you to strike, you never strike on a falling labor market. And the determining factor if all else is favorable, is public opinion.

"This is the pitch," he said. "The employers are trying to force us to strike. They want to pick us off like clay pigeons. They want us to knock ourselves out. The WLB is aiding them. They would put us in a spot where the employers can make a mass drive against our union and all of labor. But the WLB has never heard of mass protest meetings, of picketing without striking, of a unified campaign by all of labor which would involve large sections of the people in political action against a drive on our economy."

A start has been made. A petition signed by seventy-two Congressmen and ten Senators asking him to restore the bonus cut was addressed to the President and presented at the White House during his absence in Europe by Sen. Alben W. Barkley and Rep. John W. McCormack, majority leader. But the surface only has been scratched, Phillips said.

There still is a chance, Philips believes, of carrying out the CIO Maritime Committee's postwar plan, one of the most complete adopted by any section of labor, including a decent ship sales' bill instead of what Rep. Herbert C. Bonner (D., N.C.) of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries committee calls the "ship-give-away bill" which was reported out favorably. The bill if passed could only mean that ships would be sold for speculation instead of operation.

"But there is only a chance if labor is on the move," he said, "and labor hasn't been thinking in these terms. Now there is a tendency to see things in bleak terms, to see that the employers are in a good spot to break the unions, as they are, with their profits and their ten percent credit on excess profits tax refunds, and their 'carryback' of tax allowances for so-called operating deficits. Congress has taken care of that. But we can't sit and brood. Labor up to this time has not been clear about what to do about it. We have had too tender an approach to the WLB.

"It is damn well high time that labor got tough with the people who are getting tough with labor. The WLB has a time bomb set under the bridge, and it will blow union security plumb to hell if we don't get on the beam."

As PHILLIPS sees it, labor did a terrific job in the last elections for the Democratic ticket, and it put in many a Congressman. Then labor became smug at its achievements. It forgot to keep up the pressures. It forgot that there wasn't a majority of pro-labor men and women in Congress.

Above all, he thinks that unions themselves must get organized around the problem of political action. The emphasis must be down below. If this is done, real community activity will follow.

I asked him for some examples of successful political action by a union on a wage case. Phillips used to be a river man. He had worked on the rivers for years, since he was seventeen years old, and was one of the first to organize the rivers. Year after year he negotiated their contracts, and this year, when the operators appeared before a WSA panel and saw him as the labor member, they refused to go on with the case until the board ordered them to. The river men, incidentally, got a thirty-one-dollar increase this year.

He recalled that back in 1939 the rivermen struck—only after the operators ignored a negotiating committee and sent a phony contract to the boats which would have inaugurated the open shop and broken the NMU on the rivers. Men began piling off of the boats four hours after the contracts were distributed. It was a mean strike. The strikers were fought by the police in Helena, Ark., and Greenville, Miss. In Memphis the strikers even called in the FBI to protect them in their right to strike without getting beaten and clubbed by police. In one day they had seventy-two men in jail in New Orleans, and several in hospitals. It lasted three weeks. Phillips had organized a mass meeting in St. Louis, where the membership was concentrated, when they learned the AFL in the South had offered to furnish all the men the operators needed. He had to tell the workers to go back on the boats to hold their jobs. "If you think that wasn't hard—to tell 400 howling river rats to go back—" he said.

Then, after apparent failure, they organized a political action drive against Gen. T. Q. Ashburn of the War Department, chairman of the board of the Inland Waterways Corporation, a government-owned corporation. Consistently during the strike they had waged a postcard campaign against the General, the War Department, the Secretary of Commerce, the President, demanding that they intervene. Now, back aboard ship, they moved into the communities. Into the river towns made famous by Mark Twain and other writers, into Dubuque, DesMoines, Cairo, Paducah, Keokuk and others, the crews went—to their storekeepers, their neighbors and the local preachers and teachers. All were asked to write their Congressmen and the heads of agencies and the President. The result was that a few weeks after they went back to work they signed a contract with a ten-dollar a month increase and greatly improved working conditions, and the General was fired forthwith.

"Our pickets had got beat crazy and the communities allowed it," said Phillips. "These storekeepers also sold to the boat operators—they wouldn't stick their necks out to intervene when we were on strike. But when we were back, and we went to the people and involved them in our problems, we won.

"For labor leaders to advocate strikes now is unpatriotic, it is letting down our boys in the foxholes, and it is a mark of bankruptcy on the part of the leaders. If we did it, we'd be giving the shipowners a golden opportunity to break our union, while the government paid the bill. We will not strike. But we're going to fight, and organize our fight, to defeat the reactionaries in their first major attempt to slash the workers' standard of living as a precondition to unemployment."

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THE COMMUNISTS CLEAR DECKS

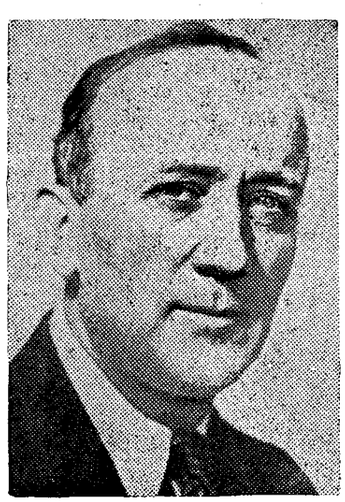
By THE EDITORS

ONE of the most significant events on the American scene occurred last week when the Communist Political Association held its special convention in New York and unanimously decided to reconstitute the Communist Party. This bore implications of primary importance to the workingclass particularly, and to the nation generally. The press regarded it of first-rate significance judging from the extensive reports that appeared in New York newspapers. For the change from "Association" to "Party" had a third dimension that far exceeded the formal question of name; involved in that change was a multiplicity of factors that can, for reasons of space and deadline, only be indicated here. Subsequent articles will deal with these factors in detail.

Basic to the change was a reevaluation by American Communists of their world outlook. We have, in these pages, indicated some of the thinking that went into the reevaluation that had begun prior to San Francisco and which was substantially affected by the charges of a "notorious revision" of Marxism which the French Communists saw in the policy of their American brothers since the Teheran agreement. The ensuing discussion indicated that American Communists recognized their serious mistake in deducing from the historic Big Three concord at Teheran that a new era had begun and that class harmony would be the order of the day within states. Predicating their policy on this assumption led them to a number of practical mistakes. The draft resolution of the CPA's National Committee laid the basis for thoroughgoing, democratic discussion within the organization; the Marxist principle of self-criticism asserted itself in a manner unprecedented in the movement's history; and the convention's proceedings reflected the conclusions drawn from this discussion.

First, the draft resolution, with strengthening amendments, particularly on the role of monopoly capitalism, on the Truman administration, on the nature of the war against Japan, and on socialism, was unanimously adopted; second, the organization was changed from "Association" to "Party" and all that that connotes practically; third, a new leadership was elected, after painstaking scrutiny of the nominees, which retained the most tried and experienced of the previous leaders, strengthened by a considerable number of trade unionists, shop workers and veterans. This was further evidenced in the composition of the national board of eleven members and a secretariat of four, headed by William Z. Foster, to direct the organization between meetings of the National Committee; fourth, the policies of Earl Browder, former leader, were rejected unanimously as a revision of Marxism and a negation of the independent role of the labor movement and the Communist Party.

FOR central to the whole discussion was the fact that the Communists had lost ground as the vanguard of the workingclass. Communists had always regarded their movement as standing in the forefront of the incessant struggle for progress; they had much, in their record, to warrant that assumption. As delegates indicated, the record showed their stellar role in the thirties when they led the nation in the stark struggle for unemployment insurance, their enlightening drive for industrial unionism, their outstanding role in the advancement of Negro rights; and furthermore, as the discussion showed, they had, despite their errors, made a mighty contribution in this war in their fight for maximum production, their stand on the "no strike" policy, their relentless opposition to the defeatists. Furthermore, there were many gold stars in the windows of Communist members — some eleven thousand of whom had gone to the front lines and produced such national figures as Robert Thompson who won the Distinguished Service Cross.



William Z. Foster

Millions of Americans had come to regard them in that light. Men and women of all classes saw the Communists as selfless, hard-working champions of the people's good. As a matter of fact, this was highlighted at the convention by the stirring letter from Theodore Dreiser requesting membership in the organization; he wrote, in part, "I feel that the Communists have helped deepen our understanding of the heritage of American freedom as a guide to action in the present. During the years when fascism was preparing for its project of conquest of the world, American Communists fought to rally the American people against fascism. They saw the danger and they proposed the remedy. . . ." We believe Mr. Dreiser speaks as many thousands feel.

But Communists, uncompromising critics of their own work, felt that they had, despite achievements, fallen short of maximum contribution. The wrong theory and the enervating effects of dissolving the party were painfully clear. As delegate after delegate indicated by specific reference, they had lagged behind events; by failing to continue to regard the workingclass as the decisive class today, as yesterday, they had fallen short to a degree: they could have done, and could do, much more to contribute to solving the nations problems. The actual events of the past months proved to many, the delegates pointed out, the error in believing that the capitalists as a class would be guided by "intelligence"—Mr. Browder's contention; this assumption led the Communists to their train of mistakes, which, if uncorrected, would have ultimately caused the practical dissolution of their movement. This was dramatically highlighted in the discussion analyzing the disbanding of the organization in the southern states; the delegates evaluated that as the crassest example of the practical consequences of wrong policy. The same would have happened nationally had there been no correction. We do not have space at this time to indicate the sentiments of the Southern Communists—Negro and white—on this issue, but they focussed attention on this development and it became one of the

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most impelling aspects of the discussion. And rightly so. For the southern experience served as an object lesson, one that the delegates, by their votes and their statements, indicated had been learned.

The reconstitution of the Party was based upon the pledge to continue the fight to crush fascism totally at home and abroad, to help build a durable peace, to make the agreements of Teheran reality through the creation of a powerful, militant, anti-fascist, democratic front at home and international unity, particularly between the Big Three, as the pillar of policy abroad. This demanded a genuine, well-knit, Communist Party based upon the principles of Marx and Lenin. The basis of the new constitution was emphasized by John Williamson, member of the secretariat, who said it sought to reflect "the specific and distinguishing character of our organization—namely, that it is the Marxist political party of the workingclass." The preamble to the constitution said this party "champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers and all who labor by hand and brain, against capitalist exploitation and oppression." As the program of action in the main resolution indicates, the immediate tasks are those of winning the war against Japan, a war which was characterized as a "just war of national liberation," an absolute prerequisite for peace and security in the Far East, and for the freedom of China and the colonial peoples of the Pacific. Integral to such victory in the war and for the good of the postwar, is the defense of the economic and democratic rights of the American people, especially its thirteen million Negroes. "The Communist Party," the preamble to the constitution declares, "upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties."

In discussing their ultimate goal, the Communists recognized that "the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the workingclass." The Communist Party, therefore, "educates the workingclass, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism." The article of purposes describes the historic aim of the workingclass to be "the introduction of socialism by free choice of the majority of the American people." Thus will the "achievements of labor, science and culture" be turned to the "use and enjoyment of all men and women."

THE whole gamut of national and workingclass problems was considered by the resolutions committee, which tackled the monumental task of sifting three thousand recommendations sent by the clubs and state conventions. These covered primarily the immediate questions of victory over Japan, an adequate reconversion program to meet the human needs of the country, the question of constructing a broad, anti-fascist, democratic front and its relations with the Truman administration, and the crucial question of Negro rights. We can, at this time, deal only briefly with several of these most central amendments.

In discussing the developments in the war against Japan—a "war of national liberation"—Eugene Dennis, member of the secretariat, was among many speakers who expressed disagreement with Earl Browder's statement at the convention that "official American policy, whatever temporary vacillations may appear, is pressing toward the unity and democratization of China." Mr. Dennis warned of the grave dangers of a compromise peace and that powerful capitalist circles will seek to stop short of total destruction of Japanese imperialism. He said this danger "will require the vigilance, the unity and the direct intervention of labor and the people, particularly from our own country. . . . We must help organize and set into motion the broadest labor-democratic coalition of all anti-imperialist forces, of all those desiring to bring Japan to defeat, a movement, a campaign to shake the country and stop the moves toward a compromise peace." Calling for the removal of Undersecretary of State Grew and his special assistant, Eugene Dooman, as proponents of a negotiated peace, Mr. Dennis posed the policy of unconditional surrender which makes unmistakably clear that that means "the complete destruction of the Japanese war potential and her monopolistic war industries, as well as the prosecution of all war criminals, including the emperor." He also urged a powerful campaign for an American policy toward China which would be based on the proposals and policy of the Yenan government and urged American lend-lease aid to that government.

Another important task the resolutions committee tackled was the more precise characterization of the Truman administration. It was generally agreed that a too uncritical evaluation of the Roosevelt administration proved one of the principal reasons for accepting the wrong general line in the past eighteen months. The more precise analysis of the Truman administration included the idea that it, like the previous Roosevelt government, is "a democratic bourgeois government which continues to receive the support of the Roosevelt-labor-democratic coalition, and which responds to the various class pressures of the coalition." The amendment, however, noted that the present administration "tends in a direction away from the more democratic forces in the coalition and more towards its less democratic groups, trying also to conciliate even the reactionary enemies of this coalition." This, however, must be considered in light of the fact that the administration still seeks to keep contact with the democratic forces; hence, the resolution stresses the central importance of building the strength of labor and other democratic groups within the general coalition for the struggle against imperialist reaction.

Central in the fight for immediate demands was the question of reconversion, wages and jobs. Delegates in this panel urged support for the sixty-five cent minimum wage, the unemploy-

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ment insurance bill for twenty-five dollars for twenty-six weeks, for the national equal pay bill introduced by Senators Pepper and Morse, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill and the Murray full employment bill. Because the delegates considered that unemployment is inevitable in privately operated plants, the struggle for sixty million jobs demands governmental works and projects. Involved also in this question and involved at its core is the question of Negro worker. The panel on reconversion said, in part, "While recognizing that seniority does not create jobs, and that jobs can only be won in a determined struggle of all the people, Negro and white, employed and unemployed, we do recognize that in this period of growing unemployment the problems of the Negro people require special attention." The acute problems of the Negro millions took a primary place in the convention, and we shall deal with them more adequately in our subsequent articles.

In brief, the convention was a landmark in the history of the Communist movement, and future historians will see it as a landmark for the nation generally. It was conducted in the freest democratic spirit, in which give-and-take discussions predominated. The healthy quality of self-criticism permeated the proceedings, a Marxist factor which the commercial press cannot begin to evaluate. We shall discuss later all the vital aspects of this convention; but suffice it to say now that it recorded a profound advance in the history of the Communist and Marxist movement in America; one that will be registered for the good of the workingclass and the people generally.

Trap for Labor

(*Continued from page* 12)

its constitutional right to refuse to work on terms that are unacceptable to it. Injunctions, money damages and loss of union recognition are among the penalties which the bill provides for the exercise of this constitutional right.

That labor will leave no stone unturned to defeat this dangerous bill goes without saying. But the forces that are lined up in support of the measure are powerful. And it will require the united efforts of men and women from every walk of life to put an end to this menace to our liberties.

Mr. Sacher is attorney for the Transport Workers Union-CIO and other CIO and AFL unions.

The Undefeated

FOR MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

His voice is throttled now.
It breaks its strength against the stone,
shatters itself on the silences of the prison.
And the walls converge to violate the vow
this fighter made;
body and mind, by book and blow, I vow to serve the people.

The film of memory unreels to a day
when the Great Hall hummed with students,
and the resonance of that voice is clear
on the sound track of the inner ear.
Warm with the sun of his conviction,
strong with the steel of certainty, it flayed
the cowardly heart, the deliberate renegade,
the calculating dereliction.

It was an instrument that played,
on the highest octaves of the spirit,
the rising music of a richer world
men struggle to inherit.
O look, it sang, at the soul of man—it is granite,
it is not the soul of a slave.
Man is a poet straining for a planet
Man is a scientist harnessing an atomic wave
Man is a soldier fighting for democracy.

Betrayed because he bridged belief and act,
that day he was the victor at the bar,
the accused against the impotent accusers
defeated by the towering fact
of his nobility:
they were the stunted, the pseudo-men, the losers.

Acclaim the scholar, the teacher, the fighter.
Honor the hard, resilient will,
the voice still vibrant through the stone,
the soul still steel.
Welcome him home with holiday exultation
Proclaim his precious liberty
after the bitter delay.

O hasten the day!
Shout out for him, set him free!

SEYMOUR GREGORY.

Mr. Gregory's poem won an honorable mention in the Art Young Memorial Award Poetry Contest the results of which were announced in our special cultural issue last week.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The Ultimatum to Japan

THE proclamation of President Truman, former Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stating terms for the unconditional surrender of Japan is a distinct improvement over the notorious appeasement offer officially broadcast to Japan by Captain Zacharias of the American Navy. It also represents a policy well in advance of the highly suspect use made by Acting Secretary of State Grew of the "unconditional surrender" slogan.

The new proclamation issued from Berlin is encouraging for one principal reason: it spells out what unconditional surrender means to Japan in terms which, if genuinely adhered to, could mean the actual elimination of the Japanese war makers and their institutions. Zacharias' broadcast called for surrender to the United States alone, did not even mention China and Great Britain, and plainly offered an imperialist deal with the present rulers of Japan.

The alarming fact remains, however, that the Zacharias peace terms have not been repudiated. And the presence in the State Department of men like Grew and Dooman whose own ideas conform with the Zacharias speech, leaves little confidence that the Berlin proclamation will be properly carried out. The fact that Japan's Premier Suzuki has officially turned down the tripartite demand for immediate surrender suggests that our enemies are well aware of the existence of a powerful appeasement group in this country which, given time, may come to their aid. There can be no question that the Japanese rulers know that they have lost the war. They can only hope to soften the terms of the inevitable surrender. As long as appeasers remain in high positions in the government and openly bid for an imperialist settlement, Japan will disregard the stern demands of the Berlin ultimatum. Only when the policies of the Grews and Doomans are officially rejected and they themselves removed from office will the Japanese lose hope that they can undermine genuine unconditional surrender.

There is, naturally, a very close connection between tory American groups and their policies on the issue of Japan's surrender and the state of affairs in China. For the bolstering of a backward, dictatorial Chinese government under Chiang Kai-shek goes hand and glove with the appeasing of imperialist Japan. Both policies are designed to protect the rule of reaction against democracy. Both are, therefore, directed against the Chinese people—and what democratic forces there may be in Japan. Both are violently anti-Soviet. And both, of course, betray the interests of the American people. Therefore, a very reliable clue as to our intentions toward Japan is always to be found in what we are actually doing in China.

What we are doing in China today is nothing more or less than promoting civil war by Chungking against the Chinese people. It has for long been known that part of the modern military equipment available to the Chungking armies through American lend-lease has gone to those Kuomintang armies blockading the democratic sections of China instead of to those forces fighting the Japanese. There can be no question that the recent military attacks upon the Communist-led troops in the north were undertaken with American equipment. A state of virtual civil war exists in China today for which American policy is in good part responsible. Certain it is that without our military and political backing the effete Chungking reactionaries would be thrown out of office in short order.

Therefore, while we welcome the Truman - Churchill - Chiang Kai-shek proclamation to Japan we cannot have too much confidence in its being translated into deeds. For that an intense struggle must be waged. Until there is a sharp reversal in our present defeatist China policy we can be sure that those who wish to appease Japanese fascist-militarism are still in power in Washington.

Dangers to the Charter

THE chances are that by the time this is read the Senate will have approved the United Nations Charter. The chances are, too, that it will have been virtually unanimous, thus ending the second phase of bringing the security organization, so far as the United States is concerned, closer to reality. But it would be fantastic to believe that the battle for a workable peace instrument has ended. The debate in the upper chamber last week, particularly the speech and remarks of Senators Wheeler and Taft, is evidence that even if they have said yea they are merely biding their time before they say nay. That opportunity may arise several months hence when measures necessary for implementing the charter—such as the allocation of American armed contingents for use by the Security Council when and if necessary—come before them for another vote either in the form of a treaty requiring two-thirds approval from the Senate or a simple bill to be passed by a majority of both houses. Then the tin-horn Machiavellis will begin the job of wreckage which they dare not risk now on pain of dire political punishment back home. In other words their consent now is the prelude to making the charter unworkable later. It will take extraordinary vigilance to see to it that they do not sometime in the future nullify out of existence what they cannot nullify at the moment.

Petain's Trial

THE form is somewhat different but the trial of Petain is in essence a part of the resistance movement's efforts to destroy the roots of the French debacle of 1940 and the grand embezzlement known as Vichy that fol-

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lowed. Aside from his personal political corruption, Petain is a symbol of larger things. He is the symbol of a military doctrine that made possible the French defeat in the field; he is the living embodiment of all those men and movements, and not in France alone, who bartered the independence of their countries in exchange for power; he is the epitome of what the trusts will do to retain their hold. He is in short the symbol of Munich in all its ugliness and filth. All these things are in the dock. The witnesses themselves—Daladier, Reynaud, Lebrun—have provided the testimony establishing Petain's guilt beyond doubt. They should know. In one way or another they contributed to Petain's rise and that of his satellites. The trial itself also runs beyond French boundaries for there are men in Washington who succored Petain just as they manipulated Darlan and abetted Franco and Peron. Thus far American diplomacy's share in the Vichy guilt has not emerged in the Paris courtroom. But it is there, nonetheless, whether it is visible on the record or not. We have not forgotten the conspiracies of William Bullitt, the former ambassador to France, or the evil work of Robert Murphy. It may take some time before the archives fully reveal to what extent the State Department played with the "hero of Verdun" but the justice meted to Petain will be a fitting commentary on its relations with the scoundrel of Vichy.

Offensive Against Labor

DETROIT has experienced the first overt act which foreshadows reactionary employers' plans for a postwar open shop drive on the war production industries. The Packard Motor Car Co. ousted the United Automobile Workers-CIO bargaining committee from its plant and suspended the union contract. That the suspension lasted only seven hours was due to the steadfast adherence of the union to its no-strike pledge and the speedy intervention of the federal labor conciliator. The relatively minor controversial issue of overtime involved that led to this ominous act on the part of the Packard Co. only accentuates the open shop intentions of some of the powerful auto companies. A few weeks earlier Harry Bennet openly stated that he wanted the union contract at Ford's terminated.

The Packard move revealed both the intent and the pattern of the contemplated open shop drive: namely, to provoke the unions into strikes in order to create pretexts for the suspension of union contracts. The Packard move was a wartime strike against the union designed to drive it into stopping production of war materials for the Pacific front and thus to discredit it in the eyes of the public and the fighting troops. Such provocative acts committed against labor in the tense situation of mounting cut-backs, lay-offs and heavy reductions in take-home-pay constitute a grave danger to the war effort against Japan as well as the home front. President R. J. Thomas of the UAW-CIO recognized that danger and stated flatly that the union will not allow itself to be provoked. The organized labor movement must become fully aware of the extent of the union breaking plans of the reactionary employers, and it must close and solidify its ranks for adequate defense against these efforts while maintaining its war-time pledge of no strikes.

That Red Herring Again

THE action of Edward V. Loughlin, leader of the New York County (Tammany) Democratic Committee, in withdrawing the designation of Councilman Benjamin Davis, Jr., for reelection to the City Council, gives a good deal more than comfort to the reactionary cabal which hopes to capture control of the municipal government. Only four days earlier, in announcing the Davis nomination, Loughlin had praised his "distinguished record" and stated the Negro leader had been designated "in response to the overwhelming popular demand for his reelection by the people and organizations of Harlem and by hundreds of labor and civic organizations in other parts of the city."

The reason given for flying in the face of this overwhelming sentiment—that Davis is a Communist and intends to remain one—makes a fool of no one but Loughlin himself. It is notable that five Harlem Democratic leaders are reported to be refusing to go along with Loughlin and are planning to circulate petitions for Davis as an independent candidate. What really caused the Tammany about-face was "heavy outside pressure," as the New York *Times* put it. District Attorney William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor candidate for mayor, is reported to have insisted that the Davis designation be withdrawn. And before Loughlin finally acted, he took a trip to Washington where he presumably communed with Postmaster General Robert Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The principal source of the "outside pressure" must, however, be sought elsewhere. One of those who actively fought Davis' designation was Edward J. Flynn, Bronx Democratic leader—the very man who had originally opposed O'Dwyer's candidacy. And from the evil alliance of Dewey Republicans and Dubinsky Social Democrats that has spawned the candidacy of Judge Jonah Goldstein in opposition to O'Dwyer has come most of the Red-baiting heat. In other words, O'Dwyer and Hannegan, if the reports of their intervention are true, have yielded to the worst enemies of their ticket, of progressivism and good government—to those reactionary forces that view the city election as a springboard for the capture of the 1946 and 1948 national elections for the GOP.

In a further effort to defeat Councilman Davis, Dubinsky's Liberal Party has introduced a stalking-horse by designating Benjamin F. McLaurin, an official of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to oppose Davis. McLaurin's sponsors have no illusions that he can win; what they hope for is that he will split the Negro vote sufficiently to prevent the election of Davis, thereby depriving the huge Negro population of America's largest city of any representation in the City Council. These strategems can be defeated if the labor movement and all decent citizens make their number one job the reelection of Councilmen Davis, Peter V. Cacchione and Michael Quill and of all other laborite candidates, as well as assure victory for the Democratic-ALP city ticket.

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READERS' FORUM

How Could It Happen?

TO NEW MASSES: Why did NEW MASSES together with almost every single American Communist become opportunist and revise Marxism for eighteen months? Objectively why did the editors, who now so readily accept Duclos and Foster, unanimously swallow the Teheran line then? Let us examine possible sources of the error.

Was it because not one editor of NM, not one member except Foster and Darcy, was a good Marxist? Did we really forget? Were we had thinkers? This is only partly true, but it does not explain the overwhelming shame that NM and our movement must bear—namely the *unanimous* agreement on the Teheran line. We did not all forget simultaneously. Furthermore, if we really did forget, how come we can have the healthy discussion taking place since the Duclos letter let down the gates of self-criticism? Did we simultaneously "remember"?

Was it first the tremendous influence of capitalist ideology on the nation and the labor movement? Hardly so. For this does not explain the *unanimous* acceptance by tried, tested and long-time comrades. It does not explain the action of *every* NM contributing editor, one of whom I personally know to be a fine American Marxist. It does not explain the action of *every* Marxist theoretician and NM collaborator who recognized this trend for years and argued against it. It can explain why some of them went over, but it cannot explain why *every one* acted together. It does not explain why *every* National Committee member accepted Teheran over Foster's criticism. And it does not explain why we pursued it so long—eighteen months—over and against Foster's incessant criticism.

The error arose primarily because the mentality of NM editors, like that of our entire organization, excluded independent thinking. Democratic centralism became a farce and since this is the source of the mistake, this is the greatest threat to NM and our movement, not the revisionist error itself.

Policy was only handed down for clarification by NM editors and unanimous agreement always followed. You followed blindly National Committee policy without stopping to think. You never *once* disagreed with *Worker* editorials or National Committee statements. Your editors, like all Communist speakers, asked for and answered questions at open meetings only to guide us to agreement with national policy. Self-criticism and independent thinking was not—and to my great disgust, still is not—a part of your editorial policy. You flatter yourselves uncritically when you say (June 26) "We accepted it (Teheran) because it seemed to us to tally with the course of history and the imperatives of our time." I insist that you accepted it because you were followers. And to prove it, look at the same article later on when you say "We want particularly to emphasize that the National Board Resolution calls for . . . the utilization of the Labor-Management Charter to press for organization of the unorganized," etc., etc. I am positive that the day the amended National Committee Resolution appeared you too dropped that clause at once. If that isn't following, what is? Real self-criticism for the lack of independent thinking was painful for Thompson and Amter. But NM goes blithely along in its positiveness in "already seeing the shape of things that reaction plots for America" (July 24).

Because of acts like these you grew to be, as you were so often correctly charged by liberals, a magazine written by and for followers. Independent thinking editorially outside prescribed limits was severely excluded. It is this suppression of free discussion which results in wrong editorial policy and the present challenge to the integrity of every editor and comrade, myself included.

Unless this criticism is considered and corrections follow, together with the necessary changes of revisionist policy, we will fail to learn and gain from these errors and similar deviations may again occur.

Blind following should be eliminated once and for all. The guarantee of correct policy, within human limits, is the consistent application of democracy and independent thinking, for it is only this that insures the complete collective thinking. The current discussion on your letter page has gratifyingly shown that many friends can make significant, intelligent contributions, even at times more than the entrenched, smug and uncritical editors themselves.

If NM conducts its affairs in the future in an air of democracy and self-criticism because of the present discussion then and only then will NM truly mature into the Marxist magazine we all want, one truly worthy of its glorious heritage.

M. J. F.

Philadelphia.

Back to Fundamentals

TO NEW MASSES: The discussion which has appeared in the *Daily Worker*, and the recent article in NEW MASSES reevaluating its course raises a number of questions which I hope will be answered in the near future.

Personally, I can't understand how the CPA leadership, if it had mastered Marxism, could—with one exception—be quiet while what should have been an obvious revisionist line was put into effect. Why was it that Comrade Duclos had to bring it to our attention?

If those claiming to be Marxists can make such errors, I think that if we could utilize our magazine to some extent in bringing forth some fundamentals of Marxism so that we who do not have this understanding can begin to learn it, I would appreciate it.

I depend on NEW MASSES to give me correct answers, so let's be on our toes from now on.

EDWARD E. KIEFER, JR.

Johnstown, Pa.

Background to Error

TO NEW MASSES: It is difficult to comprehend how it was possible for a Marxist of Browder's caliber to evolve his newest theory of social evolution, based solely on the Teheran accord, which is "a document of a diplomatic character," as Duclos says, and I would add—of a military character only. And that has not only been transformed into a "political platform," as Duclos further points out, but has been converted into a new Bible, replacing the basic teachings of Marx and Lenin, which true Communists had followed for generations, and which was for them the foundation of all political platforms, regardless of the temporary changes the course of history has brought about into the social structure of our society.

Ever since that historic conference at Teheran . . . there was hardly a single line written by Browder and many of his followers, including NEW MASSES, in which Teheran was not mentioned a few times. The degree of versatility reached in the interpretation of Teheran was amazing. And the folly of it all was clear to many a rank-and-file worker from the very beginning. Why, then, did our leaders have to learn the hard way? And only after first causing so much confusion and chaos.

The fact is that Teheran was only a milestone for Browder, because it was long before that period that he had taken the direction which finally led him to adopt the gospel of Teheran. In his book *Victory and After* appeared, as far as I know, the first theoretical groundwork, the first signs, pointing toward the complete revision of Marxism, culminating in the dissolution of the Communist Party, and the establishment of the CPA. And in my opinion it is *not* the dissolution of the Party that had caused the dismay, the confusion and the bewilderment in the minds of those who follow with interest the Marxian political direction. This change from one form of organization to another, even if it were not only a change of names . . . wasn't the most disheartening fact in this whole affair; rather it was the dissolution of the

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y basis of Marxism that has thrown into a chaos the entire conception of the social, economic and political structure of capitalist society, based upon those teachings, causing irreparable damage. . . .

I reiterate that Browder's was a complete abandonment of Marxian social science. And what makes it worse is the fact that he will not retreat from his position even now, after his was the only dissenting voice of the CPA National Board against the resolution, and especially after his "intelligent" capitalism has shown its full and ugly face on the morrow of V-E Day, and long before that in all its many forms and varied circumstances. . . .

The present uproar over the "revisionism" and the new change of direction must be considered in the light of the previous, as some cynics call them, "seasonal," changes of political orientation and direction, which have occurred within the last five or six years; most of them changes from one opposite extreme to another, which did not add to a clear conception of basic principles, which never change. . . .

First it was, as far as I can remember, "Fascism or Democracy." We had shelved for a time (but we never again took up) the struggle for socialism. Yes, one can readily agree with Browder that the American workingclass is not yet ready for socialism. Then came the period of "imperialist war," during which we turned out to be the staunchest and most ardent isolationists, which, I do maintain most emphatically, was the most shameful of all blunders. Particularly damaging to our cause was the talking done during the "pact" period, which is ever so often being thrown into our faces, making it hard for us to wash it off. How, I ask, as I have been asking all along, could it have been "not our war" when the fight was against fascism? And then, virtually and literally over night (between the twenty-second and the twenty-third of June, 1941) the "imperialist war" was transformed into a "people's war. . . ."

And the last, so far, of the "seasonal changes" was the crowning one of them all. Suddenly there was no more difference of interests between the capitalist class and the workingclass. . . . How could anyone so completely have forgotten the very ABC of Marxism? Moreover, committing all these fallacies in the name of Marxism itself.

How then is it to be expected that the masses may loyally follow such a maze of tactical bungling and the juggling of principles? Or is it taken for granted that the people will accept everything blindly, being unable to remember any of the things that were said the day before; the slogans that were proclaimed, and the books written?

The argument is often put forward that it was Lenin who taught us to adapt or change our tactics according to the requirements of a given situation. But only the tactics and *not* the *principles* are subject to change, as the NEW MASSES points out in the "evaluation of its course. . . ."

Browder states in his *Victory and After* that "we Communists have been long habituated to planning the unprecedented," to which one can only say, that all the hair-pin twists and turns performed under his leadership during the last half-dozen years were really "unprecedented" in all the history of the socialist movement. There is not even hope that he will learn from the mistakes he made, since he does not admit them. . . .

It is gratifying to witness the courageous self-criticism of the NEW MASSES, as well as the free discussion in its pages. I should like to see the time when it will be possible to point out the mistakes while the mistakes are being made, as so many of us saw it at its very inception but had observed a critical and friendly silence under self-imposed moral discipline.

D. SIGAL.

Los Angeles.

[*Ed. Note*: *NM has invited readers to present their views in letters up to 800 words. The editors will, in forthcoming issues, publish their reactions to the questions posed in the discussion.*]

American History

TO NEW MASSES: American Marxists have performed a valuable service to reevaluating our history and reviving the democratic traditions which are so deeply rooted in our past. In fact, the scientific study of our history is essential in order properly to solve the complicated problems that face us today, and to apply the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the American situation.

However, some recent writers have strayed far from the principles of historical materialism, and have consequently distorted history to a very serious degree. An outstanding example of this revision of Marxism is to be found in the introductory essay to *George Washington: Selections From His Writings* by Philip S. Foner (International Publishers, 1944).

The fundamental error of this essay is in its glossing over of the class struggle as the motivating force of social development, and consequently glossing over the fact that Washington was the representative of a class rather than of the nation. He was the leader of the nation only in the sense, and to the extent, that his class was progressive and could unite the farmers and artisans behind its leadership.

Soriano

Perhaps that was not plain during the war itself, when the interests of all patriotic classes were more or less identified. But after victory over the British was won, the class conflicts assumed a sharper form, as the ruling class attempted to repress the people and consolidate its position on the basis of an oligarchical government of property, while the people sought to advance the movement for fuller political, economic and social democracy. Foner correctly states that the two opposite camps had as their outstanding spokesmen Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. But where did the President fit into this scheme of things? He was "deceived" and "seduced" into suppressing Shays' rebellion and the whiskey rebellion, into signing the Jay treaty with our main enemy England, into condemning the Democratic-Republican clubs, into approving our dangerous and anti-French "neutrality" laws, into urging adoption of the Constitution without a Bill of Rights, and numerous other reactionary actions not mentioned by Foner, all of which paved the way for the victory of Adams and a period of brutal, undemocratic and pro-war government as has rarely been equalled in American history.

In other words, this whole period is explained as a debating contest between Jefferson and Hamilton in which the judge (Washington) made the wrong decision merely because one contestant used unfair methods of argumentation. Where was the struggle of the real classes that were fighting for supremacy? And why did Washington consistently accept the "advice" of one of his cabinet members against that of the other? Why did he appoint Hamilton to such an important position in the first place (as well as a host of other representatives of reaction; including Supreme Court Justice Marshall and Secretary of War Knox)? These questions are not answered, or even raised. Instead Washington is given a clean bill of health—he just made a few unfortunate "mistakes."

This criticism of Dr. Foner's analysis is not meant to debunk the real contributions of Washington. As he points out, Washington led the revolution not only against the British but against the American Tories, and fought tirelessly for unity of the colonies, and against the profiteers, traitors and monarchists, and had great influence in establishing a strong and stable republican government. But to ignore the *bourgeois*-democratic character of both the revolution and the state headed by Washington is to extract from them their basic class content.

Furthermore, one would not gather any indication of the necessity or desirability of the people to wage an independent struggle for democracy and progress, let alone to struggle for leadership of the movement. For if a bourgeois leader is fundamentally progressive, he will decide his course according to the logic presented by the opposing sides

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rather than as a result of historical-social conditions and the influence of the class struggle. What would be the result today if we passively accepted the decisions of our "democratic" government? Even Jefferson did not adopt that attitude, although Foner quotes him to justify many of Washington's actions. He actively organized a wide popular movement to advance the progress of the United States on the basis of political and economic democracy rather than on the basis of complete bourgeois control of the state, which was fundamentally the course pursued by Washington during his tenure of office.

This attitude of passivity is reflected in Dr. Foner's feeble attempts to apologize for Washington. He "was in no position to learn the truth concerning Shays' Rebellion" because he was "far from the scene of action"! He feared "the repercussions of the French Revolution in America" and supported non-intervention because "he lacked Jefferson's understanding of popular movements"! ! He crushed the whiskey rebellion because he was "alarmed by these reports . . . that it would result in the destruction of the government." He signed the Jay treaty, but "reluctantly" and after some delay "only because he was assured that the only alternative was a war with England." Really!

Dr. Foner contradicts himself, as he had previously pointed out that Washington had a broad outlook, extensive experience and humane sympathies. No, he was not a medieval child-king led by the nose by conspiring ministers. He was the recognized and accepted spokesman of the ruling classes, notwithstanding that his personal integrity and sincerity caused him to restrain some of their most flagrant anti-democratic maneuvers. Any other intepretation is a distortion of Marxism into a version of the "great man theory" of history, and a denial of the lessons of our history for the practical struggles for democracy today.

LT. BERNARD MANDEL.

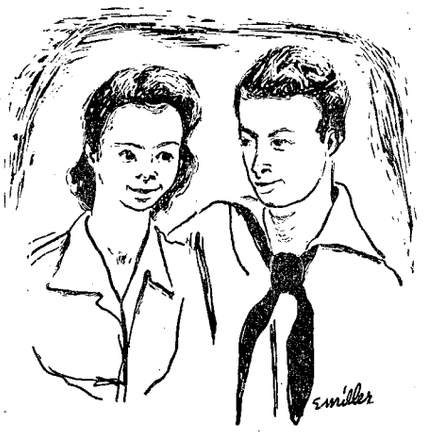
Great Bend, Kan.

To Miss Webster

TO NEW MASSES: What's wrong with "What's Wrong with Theater?"?

The fact is that Margaret Webster has become a vital, progressive and significant force in the theater. Having read her article in NEW MASSES of July 24, I am moved to take a few exceptions, also to offer a few suggestions.

First about the actors' reluctance to leave New York. If there were theaters outside New York offering a steady livelihood under a professional setup, though it be far less lucrative than Hollywood or bigtime radio, there would be thousands of actors who would leave Broadway show business with the greatest of glee. I'm still to meet the actor who says he wouldn't when asked which would he rather do—work in a fine professional repertory theater in any state in the Union, outside New York—or walk Broadway. He'll say every time, with a face that looks as if it's just got religion: "Give me a



repertory theater where I can work even forty weeks in the year at a good living wage and I'll tell Broadway to . . . go look for an angel."

I ought to know; I talk to actors all the time and it usually turns to my favorite topic: Forty-eight State Repertory Theaters, one in each state of the Union. Some actors don't like to go on the road in a road company of a Broadway success because they fear to lose the thread, that all too weak thread of memory and recognition they try so hard to build up between themselves and our cliche-minded casting directors. Most actors, however, will go on the road, but most actors aren't ever asked to go. There aren't enough shows going on the road at any time to mean anything. And outside New York there is just *nothing*.

Second—I want to take exception to Miss Webster's definition of the quality of the actors on Federal Theater. "It was founded for the purpose of employing people and employing largely—let's face it—the people who could not gain employment from anybody else. . . ."

Let me remind Miss Webster that at the time of the Federal Theater nobody could get employment from anybody in any field; also that the acting in all the Federal Theater attractions here and those this writer saw outside New York was not only comparable but quite often superior to the acting I saw at the time on Broadway, under the heading of quite a few famous names, too. This opinion was prevalent at the time among the majority of theatergoers.

I am speaking of this simply because I don't like to hear wonderful theater people like Margaret Webster talk in this vein about the unemployed rank and file of the theater. And I want to say here that there is a wealth of talent, even of genius, among the struggling unknown acting ranks of the theater, a wealth so great that if given the chance our actors, actresses, directors, playwrights, scenic designers could, with all big names left out, fill the bill on a production schedule involving forty-eight repertory companies, playing from the greatest classics of all time right down to *Frankie and Johnny*.

And this unknown rank and file acting force is capable of giving this country a culture and a wealth of beauty it has never dreamed of.

Third—city centers are okay if you're looking for a stopgap. And even so: Try to get an opera company to produce in the same theater as an acting company. The actors could never get the stage—the singers must have the auditoriums for rehearsals at all times. There is enough wealth in these United States to provide for a municipal opera company, which must have its own house and equipment since it is always run on a repertory basis. And there is enough wealth in these United States to provide for a repertory theater in each of the forty-eight states of the Union—to be financed by the state government and the federal government jointly, with no politics attached—at least no more politics than there is attached to the building of a dam or the TVA or a road or a school or a public park.

When we wanted to build the TVA we called in the experts, the scientists, and they did a good job of it—and now it belongs to the people. When we want to build forty-eight state repertory theaters in our great country let us call in the theater scientists. Let us let them build those theaters—and they will be good and they will belong to the people, to the people of these United States, everywhere. Around these repertory theaters the long dormant creative powers of the people of each state can be given scope for expression: the realists and the poets, the classicists and the folk playwrights. Having done this job we can then turn to the job of building a state repertory theater for children—and these in turn will become the center toward which the creative powers of our children will turn for inspiration and for guidance.

I guess that once given the building and the whole technical setup, with a company of 100, on a yearly salary basis average of $5,000, with an admission charge of from 25 cents to $1, everything tax-exempt—$4,000,000 a year should be enough to support a state repertory theater in each state of our Union. *And there is not a state in our Union which cannot afford it.* This job must be done and soon if our cultural heritage and our creative powers are not to continue to rot in enforced idleness.

SALA STAW.

New York City.

Correction

TO NEW MASSES: I should like to correct two errors made in a review of my novel, *The Golden Bowl*, by Meridel Le Sueur, NEW MASSES, July 17. First, since I did take my life in my hands when I decided to publish in the West, and since Western houses are all too few, I would like to get my publisher's address straight. It's St. Paul, Minnesota. Not Minneapolis. Second, the word "make" should be "mate" in the last line of the first paragraph on page 27. It is a quotation from my book and should read, ". . . and to mate, and have children." The way it was quoted was tough on the kids.

FEIKE FEIKEMA.

Minneapolis.

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FROM THE BOOKSHELF

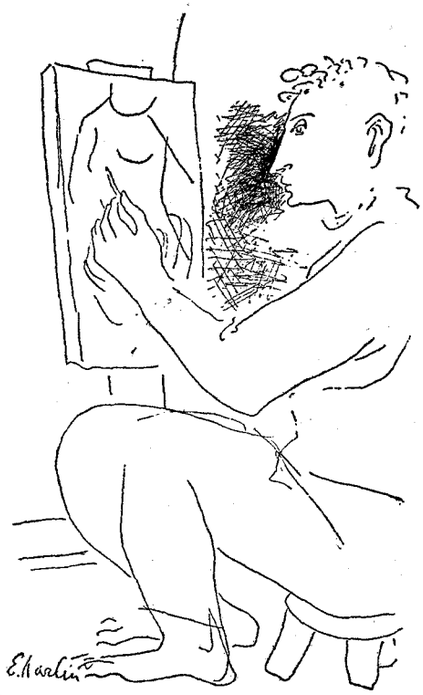
DRAGON HARVEST, *by Upton Sinclair. Viking. $3.*

THE story of Western civilization from the beginning of World War I to the present has been written in millions of words in all languages and from every conceivable point of view. But by taking as his hero a man of good will with an ability to go anywhere he wishes, Upton Sinclair in the Lanny Budd books has been able to present a remarkably unified view of the history, politics, social whimsies and personalities that created that story and were, in turn, created by it.

Dragon Harvest is the sixth and latest in this massive series, and takes the rich, charming and intelligent Lanny from the tense January after Munich through the fall of Paris a year and a half later. When that has been said, there is no need to outline the plot. Lanny is still acting as a presidential agent, sending back reports to Mr. Roosevelt on what is happening or about to happen as he hears it from Hitler and Goering or his friends in the British Foreign Office or representatives of France's 200 families. The plot is the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the military defeat of Republican Spain, the beginning of the war, the Flanders breakthrough, the heroism of Dunkirk and the Wehrmacht's entry into Paris. And through it all moves Lanny, selling his pictures, apparently living the aimless and convenient life of those with the big money, eluding heiresses on two continents, experimenting with spiritualism, falling almost in love with an anti-fascist writer he had to smuggle out of Germany, helping man a small boat that brought men off the Dunkirk beach —and then wading ashore to look up his Nazi friends and see what he could find out in Occupied Europe.

As with all the books of this series, the reader feels that he is in the presence of a monumental work, impressive for its sheer size and scope. But besides that, there is the skill with which Mr. Sinclair weaves together the currents and forces that moved the world, and the effect they had on people. And it is with people that Mr. Sinclair is most concerned. Even though his point of view is that of a man who believes that all of us deserve a decent break, he makes plain again and again that even querulous old arms magnates, like Baron Schneider of Schneider-Creusot, are so deplorable as human beings only because they are caught in the web of contradictions they helped to spin.

Yet for all his standing broadly on the side of humanity and in spite of the author's strong anti-fascist position, this book continues more definitely than the others a tendency toward what, in a less well-intentioned writer, would be Red-baiting, along with a parallel tendency to exalt Socialists and Social Democrats. No one can, of course, claim any papal infallibility in every act of the Communist Party in every country. But where, in the earlier books, Mr. Sinclair was willing to consider Communists as a hard-working section of the anti-fascist front, he now serves forth such old canards as the "agents of Moscow" theory, the notion that Nazism was caused by Bolshevism, that the American proletariat had been softened up for Coughlinism by propaganda for a Red revolution, and that Communist tactics had helped the Nazis to power. Whatever may have been the confusion among liberals in the period covered by the book, since Mr. Sinclair is writing after the fact, one would suppose that he would at least have learned as much about Communists as our own War Department has. But even on the philosophical level he swings out at materialism while Lanny is reading a book by Eddington. It all seems a sad defect in so important a work, like finding a dump-heap in the tall woods on a mountain.



Eugene Karlin

But in spite of the Red-baiting and the rather startling portrayal of William Bullitt as a great friend of democracy and the somewhat tedious theorizing about universal mind-stuff and communicating with the dead, the series remains a mountain and this a worthy part of it. One can only wish that Mr. Sinclair had sufficiently deep political understanding to guide his good intentions.

SALLY ALFORD.

Weather vs. Economics

MAINSPRINGS OF CIVILIZATION, *by Ellsworth Huntington. John Wiley & Sons. $4.75.*

APPROACHING his seventieth birthday, Ellsworth Huntington decided that it was time to sum up his geographical interpretation of history. So once again he haunts the corridors of social thought seeking to impress the reader with the importance of climate, diet, sunspots and storms, upon the course of civilization.

It would be a grave error for students of historical materialism to smile at and complacently ignore the work of the school which Huntington represents. The fact of the matter is, of course, that geographical environment is *one* of the material conditions of society, and it would be fruitless to repeat the truism that Huntington overemphasized its influence. There are, it seems to me, more important things to be said about this volume.

First, the book is inadequate and unworthy of the twenty-five years of preparation which Huntington devoted to it because he has not succeeded in integrating environmental with social, political and economic factors in a coherent system of thought. At best, the author has said: Climatical and geographical conditions have some effect on

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society. This is a harmless platitude also found in the work of Moser, Gisi and Forry, almost a century ago. Huntington's failure even to approach the problem of the integration of environmental and social phenomena is illustrated by his discussion of suicide. He notes that the suicide rate increases during the summer months, with a peak in June. In 1835, the Frenchman De Guerry observed the same thing. Huntington's explanation of this is typically speculative and biologistic. He claims, without the least demonstration, that the summer weather sexually "overstimulates" the "abnormal" person, the results of which in some mysterious (because unspecified) way "appear" in suicide.

Emile Durkheim, of whose work Huntington is evidently ignorant, has already suggested how the seasonal fluctuation in the suicide rate may be integrated with social phenomena. In his *Le Suicide*, Durkheim points out that the more comfortable summer weather may conduce to the social isolation of the individual. During the winter he is obliged to remain indoors more often, closer to family and friends. In the summer, however, the individual is less likely to be a part of a satisfying and disciplinary social unit. Thus, says Durkheim, there tends to be more suicide in the summer. Inadequate as Durkheim's theory undoubtedly is in certain respects, it clearly points out the road leading to an integration of geographical and social phenomena—a road which Huntington never ventures to take.

Mainsprings conspicuously lacks any but the most rudimentary notions of the processes involved in social change. Discussing the "revival of the human spirit" (called by less lyrical people the advent of capitalism) in the thirteenth century, Huntington concludes that it was due to the "psychological awakening based upon the physiological effect of storms." Aside from the fact that this (shall I say) analysis does not explain why the feudal society became capitalist rather than socialist or slave-holding, it is based upon meteorological conditions, storms, the presence of which is only scantily demonstrated.

No matter how he hacks at his data, Huntington simply cannot prove that geo-climatical factors correlate with social change. During hundreds, and probably thousands, of years the climate of the earth has not changed to a noteworthy extent. Nevertheless, a wide variety of social systems have in the meantime been born and expired. For this reason Huntington is compelled to employ the method of illustration rather than that of systematic historical analysis. He presents certain developments which presumably support his hypothesis; others, which would deny its validity, are studiously evaded.

For instance, the author neglects to consider the rise of industrialism in Japan during the last ninety years, despite the absence of any significant climatical changes. The same may be said of his treatment of the rise of socialism, and the advent of two wars and several depressions in the last quarter-century. Any rule can be "proved" by a method that ignores the exceptions.

Unequipped to cope with the data of complex social change Huntington stresses the importance of biological and economic cycles. He interprets these by correlating them with "sunspots" and other forms of "solar activity." As any undergraduate knows, a correlation no matter how high does not prove the existence of a causal relationship between things. Indeed, correlations have been found between the number of storks in certain North European communities and their birth rate. Does this mean storks bring babies?

Significantly, Huntington continues to emphasize the importance of racial "stock." He asserts that the Newfoundlanders demonstrate their intellectual inferiority to the Icelanders because they have not "found methods of using (their) forests, coal, metals," etc. By such reasoning one can prove the Greeks of antiquity to be intellectually inferior to Hitler's fascists!

This would not be the poor book that it is had it been written 150 years ago.

RICHARD GRAY.

Three on Germany

THE GERMAN RECORD, *by William Ebenstein. Farrar & Rinehart. $3.*
BONES OF CONTENTION, *by Lord Vansittart. Knopf. $2.75.*
IN THE WAKE OF THE GOOSE STEP, *by Filippo Bojano. Ziff-Davis. $2.50.*

MR. EBENSTEIN's "political portrait" of Germany contains few features not to be found in previous books on the same subject. The German problem, he claims, can be traced back to the phenomenon that Germany never had a political pattern, that she was always "*masslos*," without measure, without shape. Her unification came late, and it was artificial, because it was forced upon her from above. The fact that her industrialization was retarded, that she never experienced a genuine revolution, and that her middle classes never attained political maturity, all definitely contributed to the rise of Nazism. We are less inclined to follow the author when he withdraws from the realm of facts and indulges in speculations about the German character. Why doesn't a serious scholar like Ebenstein leave this province of phantasy to Emil Ludwig? And what concept of socialism does he have if, on the one hand, he repeats the often-heard slogan that the Prussians have an innate trend towards socialism, and, on the other hand, condemns them as "goose-stepping robots"?

Mr. Ebenstein does not think that we can expect a quick turn towards the left on the part of Germany: "No matter how upsetting such an expectation may be, we have to consider a non-democratic postwar Germany not only as a possibility, but as a *probability*, if not a *certainty*. . . . Whether the Germans will be left again, as after 1918, in possession of the industrial resources to make another war depends on the United Nations."

"BONES OF CONTENTION" contains little to increase our knowledge of "Vansittartism." In this volume, a collection of articles and speeches (including several made in the House of Lords) Vansittart reiterates his political creed: "We may well lose the peace because we shall shrink from occupying Germany long enough. We may well lose the peace because once again we shall eventually cover our own sloth by making excuses for the inexcusable." Inevitably, the exaggerations of his belief—one might call it a "racialism in reverse"—manifest themselves more clearly in these ephemeral by-products than in his major works. He sees Nazis everywhere, suspecting *all* refugees from Germany of crypto-Pan-Germanism: "What do they amount to? Another war, if they have their way. They don't want us to lose the war, but they do want us to lose the peace. Why? Because they are good Germans working to preserve not only Germany, but Greater Germany."

The Right Honorable Lord's idea of racialism is as rigid and static as that of any Nazi: "The German soul cannot learn humility without being humiliated, and *kept* humble." Change "German" into "Jewish," "Polish," "Russian," etc., and you have a quotation from the *Angriff or Voelkischer Beobachter*. Paraphrasing Genesis 27: 22, we might say: The hands that wrote the book are Vansittart's hands, but the voice is Alfred Rosenberg's voice. Ra-

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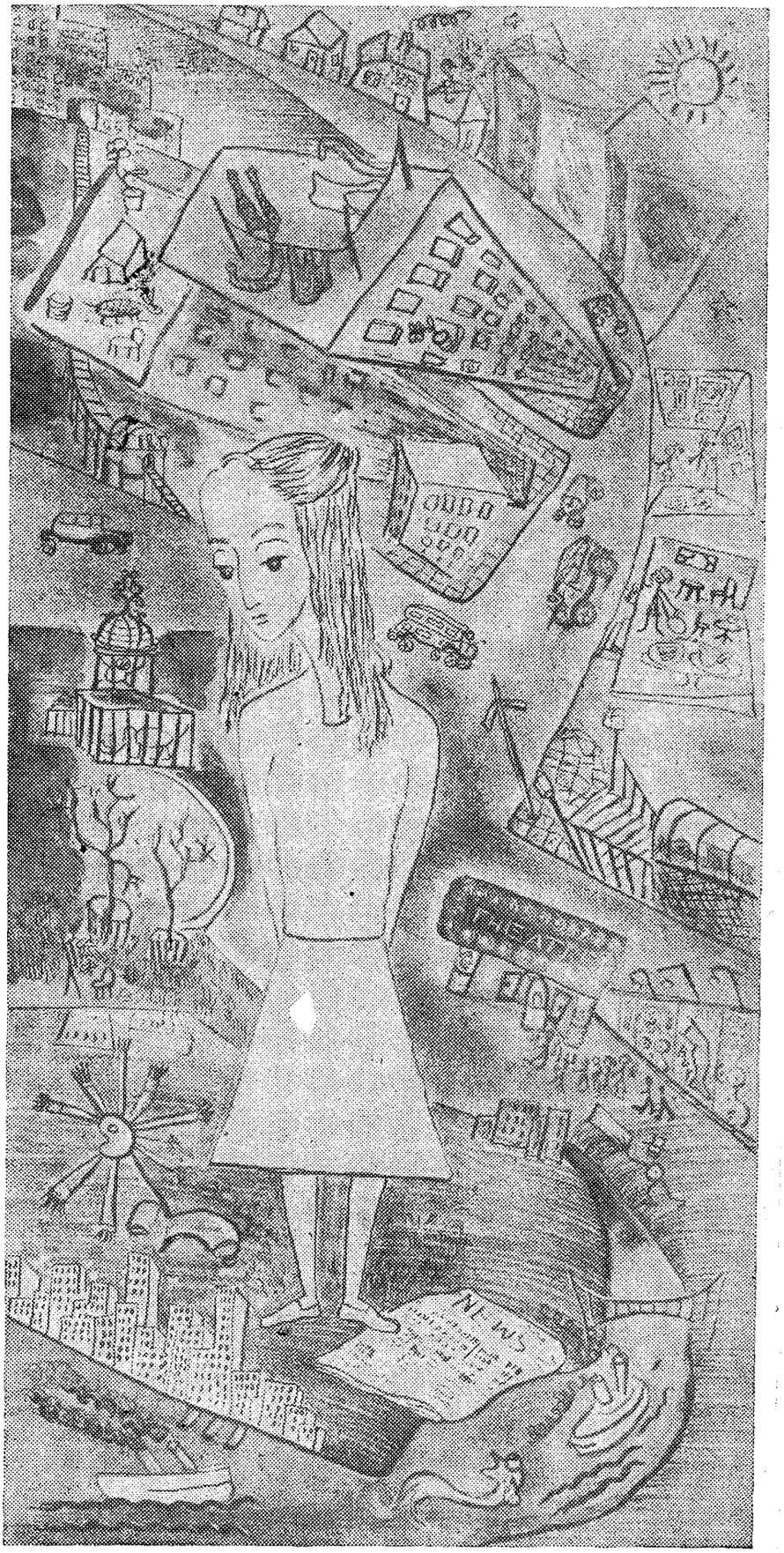
:ialism, we notice, serves as a means of shutting out any notions based on socio-economic facts. "If every country n Europe had had a socialist government," the Lord sneers, ". . . this German war would have come upon Europe, just as surely, because the Germans were not seeking customers or comrades, but slaves. As to economic causes, these can contribute to, but cannot make, great wars. The theory is an example of old-fashioned cleverness and owes much of its currency to Karl Marx." One little historical reminder should be sufficient to shake the apodictic statement: in 1928 the Nazis had merely twelve representatives in the Reichstag, five years later as many as 288. Should not the fact that 1928 was a boom year and 1933 a year of sinister depression be taken into consideration? And were Eisner, Liebknecht, Gareis, Haase, Landauer, and Rosa Luxemburg "seeking slaves"? . . .

SIGNOR BOJANO believes in racialism, too. For many years he was political correspondent for Mussolini's organ, *Popolo d'Italia,* first in Berlin, then in Stockholm, and finally in Moscow. He accompanied the German armies as they crushed Norway, Belgium and France. He looks at the events as a "Latin" (*sic!*) who admires German efficiency, especially in the propaganda sphere, but at the same time loathes German haughtiness. To whitewash the Italians he puts all the blame on the Germans. He rebukes Mussolini only mildly—he was "theatrical," yet he "carried in his heart the vision of the Roman Empire" and he was "anti-German from birth, and remained anti-German all his life."

Bojano's view that Fascist Italy was a nice, well-behaved kid before her association with the hoodlum Germany, through which she lost her innocence, is still shared by European and American statesmen, generally the same who have kind, reconciliatory words for Franco Spain and Argentina. The reader should not forget the concentration camps of Lipari, castor oil as a means of political reeducation, the murder of Matteotti and the Rosselli brothers, the rape of Ethiopia and Albania, and similar crimes committed by the goose-stepping Fascists in Italy. If that is kept in mind then Bojano's memoirs have some value, for they disclose certain aspects of the Nazi methods of propaganda and political intrigue, and they contain numerous insights into the careers of European statesmen.

ALBERT WIENER.



"City Child," by Wer.

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Education in 1965

EDUCATION FOR ALL AMERICAN YOUTH, *published by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. $1.*

THIS volume is probably the most important publication to appear dealing with postwar planning in the field of education. It dramatically presents the need for major changes in our educational system, and the problems we face in making them.

The unique form of presentation is well adapted to this purpose. Two chapters are devoted to extracts from a "History of Education" to be written some twenty years in the future; the bulk of the remaining text describes three school systems as they are found to exist five years after the cessation of present hostilities—one in Farmville, a rural center; one in American City, a metropolitan area, and the other in the state of Columbia. Through these imaginary schools the Educational Policies Commission projects its conception of the general pattern the changes in educational practice should follow.

In the past our educational system has been characterized by a separation between general and vocational education, and between the school and the community. Thus, although educational theory has recognized the importance of "wholehearted purposeful activity" as an important educational principle, its application at the secondary school level has been conspicuous by its absence.

The introduction of work experience would certainly do much to close this gap between theory and practice. In the imaginary school systems of Farmville and American City work experience is furnished, first, through the establishment of repair shops, gardens and similar projects under the direct supervision of the school, and second, by paid, part-time employment in private industry. The commission "looks upon youth's prime interest in occupations as . . . an educational opportunity to be seized. By successfully meeting the need for occupational preparation the school may also open the way to more effective education for citizenship and personal development."

With a portion of the school tasks being performed in industrial establishments we can see one reason why the relationship between the school and the community would have to go far beyond the traditional parent-teacher concepts. The new relationship would have to include systematic consultation between

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business and labor groups and school authorities.

This, however, is not the only reason for closer ties between the school and the community. Civic competence—an educational aim recognized to be most important in the postwar world—cannot be achieved without actual experience in civic affairs. So, the curriculum of the Farmville and American City schools calls for such things as community surveys, participation in political, civic and welfare campaigns, visiting of local organizations—in short, an active part in community life.

The volume goes into great detail concerning the manner in which this closer relationship between the school and the community might be achieved. It lists some forty different organizations which were represented on the American City Advisory Council, the vehicle for community cooperation. Among these organizations the Parent-Teachers Association was the main driving force. The fact that the labor movement embraces by far the largest and most powerfully organized group of citizens seems to have been overlooked. The AFL and the CIO are included on the list, but that is all. It is also noteworthy that no Negro organizations were included. In fact it can be said that although the commission has a rather clear idea of the necessary objectives for postwar education, the same cannot be said for the method of achieving them.

The authors give much consideration to the question of whether control should be federal or state and local. They realize that if the school system is not given some such thorough overhauling as they suggest, federal control will ultimately be the result, and this they strenuously oppose.

But at the present time, federal control is not an issue. Federal aid *is*, however, an immediate issue. In his Budget Message to Congress the early part of this year President Roosevelt recommended federal aid to education but stipulated that such financial assistance should involve no interference with state and local control of educational programs. Such aid is necessary even for equalizing such educational opportunities as already exist, and bills before Congress which would serve this purpose deserve the support of labor and the people.

The realization of the commission's postwar educational program would, it was estimated, require about twice the funds that have been used for educational purposes in the past. But respon-

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NAOMI WILLETT.

Luce Attends a War

HISTORY IN THE WRITING, *by the foreign correspondents of* Time, Life, Fortune, *selected and edited by Gordon Carroll. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $3.*

POSSIBLY it is editor Carroll's fault that his selection from the 8,000,000 words of *Time-Life-Fortune* reportage of the war comes to so little. But the fault seems, rather, to be that of *Time-Life-Fortune* specifically and American journalism generally. The important things shade off here like photo-mural backdrops; the superficialities have the foreground. The collection does not succeed in giving the greatness of little things, which may have been the intention; but it succeeds in belittling great things.

Most of the material is merely ineffectual; but there is a small remainder that is also false—false in proportion, in emphasis and even in fact. That, as one might expect of something out of the Luce propaganda mill, is the portion devoted to the Soviet Union. By the evidence of this "history," that minor ally of ours was scarcely in the war at all. Of the book's 387 pages only two deal directly with the Soviet war effort; eleven deal indirectly and, in their implications, falsely. Of these eleven, five are given to a mangy little account of American and British rivalry for news scoops in Moscow; three and one-half pages go to a correspondents tour to the scene of the Katyn massacre and are labelled ambiguously, "a triumph of propaganda"; and two and one-half pages more go to one of the official banquets which American correspondents love to dwell on, with the implication that Soviet officials gorge while their people starve.

Finally, in the nine pages on the Teheran Conference there are a few allusions to Soviet personalities. In one, Stalin is described as the man "who has scared more people than Genghis Khan," and wears a non-existent "Order of the Soviet Union."

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This is, then, *History in the Writing*, culled from one of America's fanciest and most powerful journalist organizations. The book has one use, however —as one explanation of why the American public is more hopelessly misinformed than it would be if Gutenberg, Morse, Daguerre and Marconi had never existed.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

FILMS OF THE WEEK

IT IS difficult to determine whether *Rhapsody in Blue* (at the Hollywood), Warner Brothers picturization of George Gershwin's life, fails to make the grade because of inept handling of material or simply because of lack of material. Musically, it is a fine treat and worth the price of admission, but dramatically it falls flat.

Eight years after his untimely death Gershwin is considered by many to be America's outstanding composer. His songs are still heard regularly and his serious works are part of the standard repertoire of the leading symphonies. Theoretically his life story should be replete with dramatic interest, the how and why of becoming the musical interpreter of a people's aspirations. But, sadly enough, the story is confined to two major cliche motifs: the supposed conflict between writing profitable popular songs and non-profit "long hair" symphonic opuses, and the conflict represented by Gershwin's struggle to choose between career and the love of two attractive women, one from his own background of show business, the other from the artistic stratum towards which he strives.

Even granted that the factual material is authentic, its handling does not make for absorbing theater. A composer's life details are important only so far as they explain his creative processes, and his relation to the world in which he lives. Only once does *Rhapsody* even attempt this, in the scene showing Gershwin writing "An American in Paris" and this not too successfully. Robert Alda seems weighed down in his interpretation of Gershwin. Others in the lengthy cast include Morris Carnovsky as Papa Gershwin, Joan Leslie and Alexis Smith as the contenders for Gershwin's love and Charles Coburn and Albert Basserman as the opponents for his musical genius.

BY THIS time the makers of Technicolor musicals must indeed be worried. What will they do next? There are just so many colors in the spectrum, just so many angles from which to photograph a pianist's hands and only a limited number of times a crooner's Adam's apple may be shown bobbing up and down. *Anchors Aweigh*, at the Capitol, MGM's latest contribution to the field, gives ample doses of all the components required by formula. The costume and set designers provide a riot of color, Jose Iturbi the hands on the black and white keys, and Frank Sinatra the Adam's apple. Thrown in for good measure are the nimble feet and engaging personality of Gene Kelly and the delicate beauty and high notes of Kathryn Grayson. Just in case this doesn't overwhelm you, the director has also provided the never-failing pathos of a little boy who wants to join the Navy.

The story, as usual, seems to have been made up of old pieces of script left over from previous films. The ratio is eight words of dialogue to one musical number, which boils it down to how well you like the performers and the music. On these grounds, and these only, I have no fault to find. Sinatra is just Sinatra, the *Wunderkind* with impeccable musical phrasing and a pleasing voice. As an extra joy to his fans, he also does a routine with Kelly. As the young girl on my right exclaimed with passionate delight, "It's really him dancing, it's really him!" Gene Kelly is a highly imaginative dancer, besides being a sincere actor. Some of the super-duper numbers include Kelly in an animated cartoon dance sequence, and Iturbi with forty or fifty youthful supporting pianists playing a Rachimaninoff prelude with what seemed like a thousand cameras on wheels running from piano to piano seeking for a new angle. The only thing left is to get a shot of the piano playing Iturbi.

"ALONG CAME JONES" (RKO, at the Palace) stars Gary Cooper in a Nunnally Johnson attempt at creating a "different" Western. Cooper is mistaken for a desperado, falls in love with the d.'s gal and wrestles through a lot of footage until the final clinch. There's more entertaining dialogue than usual, but the cutting shears would have made it a little less draggy. Loretta Young, William Demarest and Dan Duryea fill the supporting roles efficiently.

GILBERT LAURENCE.

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